



A
NARRATIVE
OF THE
TRANSACTIONS
IN
BENGAL,

FROM THE
YEAR 1760, to the YEAR 1764,
During the GOVERNMENT of
Mr. HENRY VANSITTART.

Published by HIMSELF.
In THREE VOLUMES.
VOL. I.

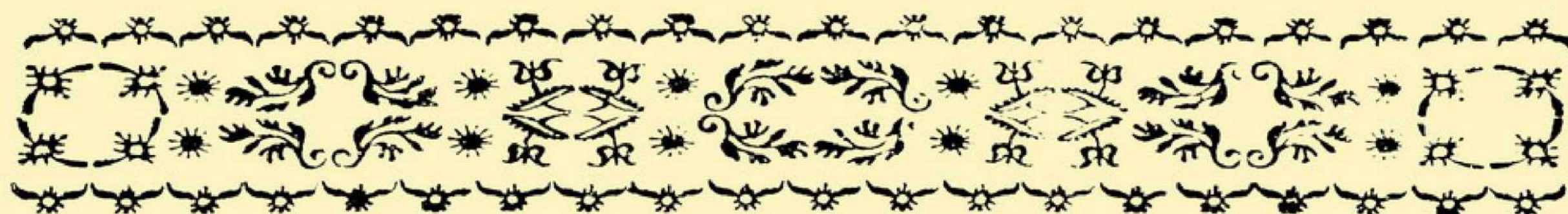
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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Original Papers contained in these Volumes are the same, which the Friends of Mr. Vanfittart found it necessary to publish in 1764, with some few additions. They are now connected together, by a Narrative, which will render them more intelligible to the Reader.

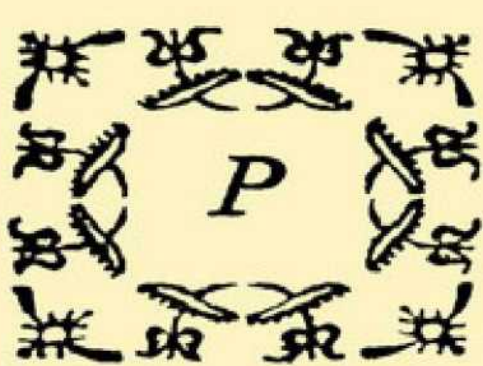
It is to be observed, that the Original Papers are distinguished from the Narrative by inverted Commas, at the Beginning, and at the End of each Paper.



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A N

E X P L A N A T I O N

O F T H E

I N D O S T A N W O R D S.

A.

Annae,	T HE sixteenth part of a rupee.
Arzee,	An address from an inferior.
Arzdasht,	An address to the King, so called from the two initial words always used in such an address.
Affammee,	A dependent ; or any person on whom a claim is made.
Aumeen,	Or ameen, a supervisor ; a person employed to examine and regulate any business.
Aumil,	An officer of the revenues.
Aumildar,	The same.
Aumulnama,	A warrant, or order of the government, empowering a person to take possession of any land.
Aurung,	A place where goods are manufactured or produced for sale.

B.

Bang,	An intoxicating herb.
Banyan,	A. Gentoo servant, employed in the management of commercial affairs.

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Batta,	Exchange. Also diet-money allowed to the troops in the field.
Bazar,	A daily market.
Begum,	A princess, a title given to every lady of rank.
Beetle,	The name of an aromatic leaf, and of a nut of the size and appearance of a nutmeg, which the natives of India constantly chew and eat between their meals. A small parcel of these from the hand of a superior, is always received as a pledge and assurance of protection.
Bildar,	A man who works with a beel, an instrument like a spade.
Burkundafs,	A matchlockman.
Buxbunder,	The office of customs at Hoogley.
Buxy,	A paymaster.

C.

Calarree,	A salt work,
Caoun,	Sixteen puns of cowries, equal to nearly eight pence of English money.
Chokey,	A guard ; also a place appointed for the receipt of customs.
Chokcydar,	The officer of a guard.
Chubdar,	An attendant, whose office is to carry messages, and proclaim the approach of visitors, &c. literally staff-bearer, so called from a staff of wood, or silver, according to the rank of his master, which he carries in his hand.

Chuckla,



Chuckla,	The jurisdiction of a fougedar.
Chunam,	Lime.
Cooley,	A day-labourer.
Cootba,	The form of public prayer used for the King.
Cofe or Cofs,	A measure of about two miles.
Coffid,	An exprefs.
Cowrie,	A shell which paffes for money in the province of Bengal ; eighty cowries are called a pun, and from fifty to fixty puns are the value of a rupee. A cowrie therefore may be rated at the 160th part of a penny.
Cucherree,	A court of juftice. Also the office into which the rents are delivered.
Cutwal,	An inferior officer of the police, dependent on the fougedar, whose bufinefs is to try and decide petty misdemeanors within a certain diftrict.

D.

Dadney,	Money advanced for goods.
Dandee,	A waterman, or rower.
Dauks,	Stationed letter-carriers.
Deloll,	A broker.
Dewan,	The fecond officer of the province, whose bufinefs is to fuperintend the lands and collections. Also the fteward of any man of rank.
Dewanconna,	The dewan's court, or office.
Droga,	An overfeer, or fuperindant.

Durbar,

Durbar,	A court.
Dustorc,	A custom, or fee.
Dustuck,	A passport. In the Narrative it always means a passport given by the governor, or the chiefs of the factories, for the goods of the Company or their servants, which exempts them from the payment of duties.

E.

Emarut,	A building. The droga of the emarut is the overseer of the public buildings.
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F.

Firmaun,	A royal decree. In the Narrative it means the charter which the Company obtained from the King Furukhseer, by which they hold their privileges.
Fougedar.	The chief magistrate of a large district, called a Chuckla.
Fougedarree,	The appointment, or office of a fougedar.

G.

Gardce	A name sometimes given to the seepoys.
Gaut,	A landing-place, where customs are usually collected.
Gentoo,	A professor of the ancient religion of India.

Gola,

Gola,	A building, usually of thatch, erected for keeping grain, salt, &c.
Gomastah,	An agent, or factor.
Gunge,	A wholesale market ; principally for grain.
Gurree,	A division of time, including 24 minutes.
Guzerbaun,	An officer who collects the customs at the ferries.

H.

Hawalदार,	A subaltern officer of seepoys of the rank of a serjeant.
Haut,	A market on stated days.
Hazarree,	A commander of gunmen, literally a commander of a thousand.
Hegira,	The Mahometan æra.
Hircarra,	A spy.
Husb-ul-hookum,	A patent, or order, under the seal of the Vizir, with these initial words, signifying “ according to the command.”

I.

Izara,	A farm of the revenues.
Izardar,	A farmer of the revenues.
Jagheer,	An assignment of any part of the revenues of the state for military service.
Jagheerदार,	The possessor of a jagheer
Jemmatdar,	A military commander.
Jungul,	A wood, or a wild country.

Karofec,



K.

Karoree,	The same as a wadadar. An officer of the government, who for a commission of two or three <i>per cent.</i> makes himself responsible for the rents of a zemindarree.
Katbarra,	A duty levied on new boats.
Kazzêe,	The chief magistrate appointed to administer justice to the Mahometans according to their written law.
Kella,	A fort ; also a palace.
Kelladar,	The governor of a fort.
Kallaat,	A dress given to a person invested with any new office.
Kist,	The amount of a stated payment.
Kistbundee,	An agreement for the stated payments of a sum of money, to be discharged at different times.
Krore,	Ten millions.

L.

Lack,	One hundred thousand.
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M.

Mahal,	Any land, or a public fund, yielding a revenue to the government.
Mahal Serai,	The women's apartments.
Malguzarree,	The land revenue.
Mangee,	The helmsman of a boat.
Maund,	A weight of 75 to 80 lb.
Mharajah,	A title signifying Great Rajah.

Mohr,



Mohr,	Or Gold Mohr, a gold coin, worth from 12 to 15 rupees.
Molungee,	A worker of salt.
Moonsee,	A secretary for the Persian language.
Muchulca,	A written obligation.
Munsub,	A dignity.
Mufnud,	A cloth or carpet, on which the people of Indostan sit, used to signify the seat of the Nazim.
Muttasfeddee,	Properly an officer of state. A term applied in common to any man, who has the charge of accounts, either of the government, or of any person of consequence.

N.

Nabob,	(Properly Nawab, being the plural of Naib) a title given to every person of noble rank. By pre-eminence it is generally used to signify the Nazim.
Naib,	A deputy.
Naic,	A subaltern officer of the seepoys, of the rank of a corporal.
Nazim,	The first officer of a province, in whose hands the executive power is lodged. He is usually for distinction stiled the Nabob.
Neabut,	A deputyship.
Nezzer,	A present to a superior.
Nezzeranna,	A sum paid to the government, as an acknowledgment for a grant of lands, or any public office. Ni-

xxviii E X P L A N A T I O N.

Nizamut, The office or post of a Nazim.
 Nobit, A band of music, allowed only to persons of the highest rank, by a grant from the Crown.

O.

Omrah, The plural of Aumeer, a Lord of the Empire.

P.

Pahr, A variable division of time, consisting of such a number of guries as will form nearly a quarter of the natural day or night.

Peon, A footman, or attendant.

Perganah, The largest division of land in a Zemindarree.

Perwannah, A grant or letter under a great seal from any man of power to a dependent.

Peshkar, A steward.

Peshcush, A tribute paid to the Crown, as an acknowledgment for any tenure.

Pulwar, A light boat used for dispatches.

Pun, Eighty cowries, of the value of about an halfpenny.

Pykar, A person who purchases goods from the first hand to sell to the merchant.

R.

Rahdar, An officer employed in collecting the duties by land.

Rajah, A title given to every Gentoo of rank, originally appropriated only to the principal Zemindars.

Raunee,

E X P L A N A T I O N. xxix

Raunee,	Properly Rannee, a title given to the women of rank amongst the Gentoos.
Reiat,	A tenant.
Riffalla,	An independent corps of horse.
Riffalladar,	The commander of such a corps.
Rowana,	A passport, or certificate, from the collector of the customs.
Royroyan,	The principal officer under the Dewan, who has the immediate charge of the Crown lands.
Rupee,	A silver coin, worth about 2 s. 6 d.
	S.
Seepoy,	A foldier. This word is chiefly used for the Indian troops disciplined after the European manner.
Serai,	A baiting place for travellers.
Sezawel,	The same as tahfildar. An officer employed for a month by salary to collect the revenues.
Shah,	The King, or Emperor.
Shahbunder,	The office of customs at Dacca.
Shahzada,	A Prince, or son of a King. Any person of royal extraction.
Shroff,	A banker.
Sicca,	A coin ; commonly used to signify the rupee of the Bengal mints.
Sicdar,	The collector of the rents of a village.
Sircar,	The state.
Subah,	A province ; improperly used for the Subahdar.
Subahdar,	The governor of a province ; also the commander of a company of seepoys.
	Subah-

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E X P L A N A T I O N.

Subahdarree, or subahship. The office of a subahdar.

Sunnud, A grant.

Sunwaut, Rupees of old dates, on which a discount is allowed.

T.

Taalook, A small zemindarree.

Taalookdar, The zemindar of a small district.

Tahsildar, or Sezawel. An officer employed for a monthly salary to collect the revenues.

Tanna, A small fort.

Tamnadar, A commander of a small fort.

Telinga, A seepoy ; so named from a country of that name, from whence the first seepoys were probably enlisted.

Tofall, A collection of calarrees, or salt pans.

Tomtom, A name which is vulgarly given to the Indian Drums used in proclamations.

Tuncaw, An assignment.

V.

Vackeel, An attorney, or agent.

W.

Wadadar, The same as karooree ; an officer of the collections.

Y.

Yeffawel, A state messenger.

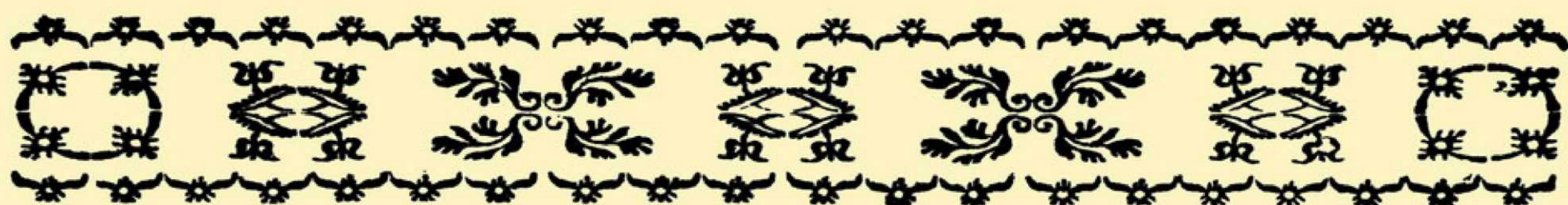
Z.

Zemindar, A person who holds a certain tract of land immediately of the government, on condition of paying the rent of it.

Zemindarree, The office of a Zemindar, or the lands held by him.

Zenana, Belonging to women. The woman's apartments.

Zilladar, An officer of the collections. A



INTRODUCTION.

AS the East India Company's con-
 A cerns with the country govern-
 ment of Bengal have of late
 years engaged the attention of the pub-
 lic, I am prompted, both by duty and
 inclination, to give the world a full and
 circumstantial account of all the mate-
 rial transactions that passed while I pre-
 sided at Calcutta. The facts shall be
 supported by authentic copies from the
 records, that the motives of each step,
 being traced to their original sources, the
 public may no longer be forced to take
 up their opinions from magazines and
 news-papers, which have been too
 frequently employed to serve the pri-
 vate ends of designing men. It is
 only from an unprejudiced examination
 of the motives, that a true judgment
 can be formed of the merit of the per-
 sons

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sons concerned in the conduct of any publick business. Thus, if the motives of the Select Committee, for entering into engagements with Meer Cofsim in September 1760, shall be found to be good, and the revolution which followed to be unavoidable, without exposing the East India Company to ruin, the Nabob Meer Jaffier to an ignominious death, and the provinces, already oppressed by foreign enemies, to the accumulated miseries of a civil war; in such case, I say, the transaction must be approved, and the promoters of it may rather hope for applause than fear reproach.

ENDEAVOURS have been used to represent the government of the Nabobs in India as a sacred and fixed inheritance, with a design to throw an odium upon this change in Bengal, by making it appear as a violation of the rights of princes, and an offence against the constitutional laws of the empire. It may be proper to set this matter in a true light, by examining what is the nature of the Nabob's



INTRODUCTION. iii

bob's appointment, and shewing, by way of instance, the succession in Bengal from the beginning of this century. In this inquiry, Meer Jaffier will be found, like most of his predecessors, to have seized the government by force, and that force not his own, but borrowed from the English, who entered into an alliance with him, in hopes by his assistance to be revenged on Serajah Dowla. How little assistance he gave, and how ill he observed the articles of that alliance, is sufficiently known; and I mention these circumstances, only to remove the false notions that have been suggested, not meaning to bring them into the present argument; for as on the one hand it was not intended to charge Meer Jaffier with his infidelity to us, if he would have agreed to the new measures, which the necessity of the Company's affairs, and the state of the country, required; so, on the other hand, supposing his rights to have been as valid as they are represented, and independent of us,

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I could not in such circumstances have acted otherwise than I did.

THE Nabob, as he is usually termed, or properly the Nazim of a province, is an officer of the Mogul government, appointed to superintend the affairs of the province during the pleasure of the court. This commission extends not even to the life of the possessor, and in the early times of the empire it was usual to make frequent removals, to prevent the dangerous effects of an increasing influence. Neither, according to the original institution, has he any right to interfere in the management of the revenues, which branch belongs to another officer, called the Dewan, appointed also by the court, and in every respect independent of the Nazim. It is true, that since the authority of the emperors began to decline, the Nazims, taking advantage of the distractions of the state, have generally established themselves in such a degree of independency, as to pay little more than a nominal obedience to the court. The forms are still kept up, but they



they serve only to shew what was the original constitution. The Dewan is still appointed by a commission from the court, but the interest, or rather the force, of the Nazim procures it in the name of his son, or nearest relation. Upon the death of a Nazim, the succession, whether continued in the same family, or seized by a stronger, is not considered as valid, till confirmed by the Imperial patent; but this the actual possessor finds no difficulty in obtaining.

ABOUT sixty years ago, we find Jaffier Cawn in the government of Bengal. He was sent from Delly, and held it 'till his death, which happened in 1725.

SHUJAH CAWN, of a different family, was sent from court to succeed him, and governed the province till 1739, when he died.

HIS son Serfraz Cawn, hoping to find a party strong enough to support him, took possession of the government, but maintained himself in it only three years.

ALLIVERDEE CAWN, without any other title than his ambition, brought

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an army from Patna, killed Serfraz Cawn in battle, and seized the Nizâmut in 1742. He soon obtained a confirmation from Delly, and by associating his grandson Serajah Dowla in the government, gave him an opportunity of securing the succession.

SERAJAH DOWLA succeeded his grandfather in 1756, and the next year was deposed by the English, who conferred the government on Meer Jaffier, one of the principal officers of his army, although many of the families of Serfraz Cawn and Alliverdee Cawn were then living.

I SHALL now enter, without further preface, upon a detail of the transactions, in which I was principally concerned; persuaded, that all such as may have leisure and inclination to read these Papers will be convinced, that passion and self-interest had more share than the love of truth, in the numberless calumnies, that were put forth to impose upon the public about the beginning of the year 1764.



A NARRATIVE

OF THE

TRANSACTIONS in BENGAL,

From the Year 1760, to the Year 1764.

SECTION I.

Preliminary Observations on the Restraints laid on our Trade, till the year 1757, and the Disputes with the Officers of the Government, occasioned by our Encroachments, since that Period.

Extract from the Company's Firmaun. — Treaty with Meer Jaffier of 1757. — Letters from the Residents at the Nabob's Court, complaining of the Agents and Gomastahs in the Country.

THE Increase of Commerce was at first the only object of the European settlements in India. English, French, Dutch, all received equal encouragement from the princes
B 4 of



of the country, and were permitted to buy and sell, upon condition of paying the same duties to the government, that Armenians and other strangers had paid before. Their ships and warehouses were liable to be visited by the officers of the government, who extorted, under various pretences, frequent contributions, over and above the duties, for their own or their masters emolument. In Bengal, particularly, traders could by no means escape paying whatever was demanded from them, because their settlements were established above a hundred miles up the Hoogly river, with several forts belonging to the government below them, so that their ships could not withdraw without leave.

THE disposition of the people of that country will naturally lead them to make the utmost advantage of such a circumstance, and of course the trade of the settlements in Bengal was loaded with grievous taxes and impositions. Our East India Company continued a great number of years under this disadvantage; but
at

at length, in the year 1716, they made an effort, at a great expence, to obtain some relief from these heavy and arbitrary taxes, by an embassy to the Mogul emperor, who granted them, upon this application, a Firmaun, or order, for a free importation and exportation of goods, upon condition of a small annual tribute or acknowledgment, to be paid into the royal treasury at Hoogly. The following is a translation of the Firmaun.

Translation of the F I R M A U N .

“ **A** L L magistrates, and aumils, and officers of the state and jagheerdars, and fougedars, and karoorees, and rahdars, and guzerbauns, and zemindars, for the time being, and to come, of the province of Bengal, and Bahar and Orissa, and the port of Hoogly, and the other ports of the provinces aforesaid, who hope for the royal favors. Know, that at this season of victory and conquest, Mr. John Surman and Coja Serhud

Serhud, agents of the English Company, have caused to be represented to the throne of justice and equity; that, according to the sign manual of his Majesty, who is received into the mercy of the Almighty, and to prior funnuds, the English Company has been exempted from customs throughout the empire, excepting the port of Surat: and in the port of Hoogly they pay annually three thousand rupees in lieu of customs, as a peshcush to the treasury of the high Sircar. They hope that, conformable to former funnuds, the royal Firmaun may be granted.

THE command which subjects the world to obedience is issued forth. Whatever goods and merchandize their agents may bring or carry by land or water in the ports, quarters and borders of the provinces, know them to be custom-free, and let them have full liberty to buy and sell. Take annually the stated peshcush of three thousand rupees; and besides that, make no demands on any pretence. And if, in any place, any of their effects be
carried



carried off by theft, endeavour to recover them, and punish the thieves, and restore the goods to their owners. And wheresoever they shall establish a factory, and buy and sell goods and merchandize, afford them assistance and favor on just occasion. And on whomsoever of the traders and weavers, &c. they shall have a just claim, cause payment to be made to their agents according to equity and right, nor let any one injure their agents. Neither obstruct their boats, whether hired or their own property, on account of Kâtbarra *, &c.

AND likewise they have humbly set forth, that the Dewans in the provinces demand the original funnud, and a copy under the seals of the Nazim and Dewan of the province. To produce the original funnud in every place is impossible. They hope that they will credit an authentic copy under the seal of the Kazzee, and not demand the original funnud; nor press them for a copy attested by the Nazim and Dewan. And in Calcutta the Com-

* A cuty levied on every new boat.



pany have an established factory: the taalucdarree of Calcutta, and Soota Lootee, and Gobinpoor, in the districts of the pergunah of Ameerabad, &c. in the province of Bengal, they formerly purchased from the Zemindars, and the stated rent thereof, being one thousand one hundred and ninety-five rupees six annas, they pay annually. And there are thirty-eight villages, the rents of which amount to eight thousand one hundred and twenty-one rupees and eight annas, may the taalucdarree of these villages also be granted, the rents thereof to be paid yearly by them, and the income to be received by them.

THE respectable order is passed. Let credit be given to a copy under the seal of the Kazzee; we command, that they hold as usual the villages which they have purchased, and grant them the taalook of the other villages before-mentioned; let them purchase them from the owners, and let the Dewan of the province yield them possession.

THEY



THEY have also represented, that from the time of his blessed Majesty, who is received into the Divine Grace, a discount is taken in the treasuries of the provinces upon the coins of Cheenapatan * ; but in effect the silver of the said coins is of the same standard as those of the port of Surat, by which means they suffer a great loss : may the high command be issued forth, that provided their silver be of equal quality with the standard of the port of Surat, &c. it shall suffer no obstruction : and that whosoever of the servants of the Company shall be indebted, and fly from the place, be sent to the chief of the factory : and that on account of the fougedarree, and other forbidden articles †, by which the agents and servants of the Company are much aggrieved, they be not molested.

THE strict and high order is issued forth, that from the fifth year of the blessed reign, if the silver struck at Chee-

* Madrafs.

† Fines exacted by the fougedarree for drinking spirituous liquors, and other petty misdemeanors.

napatan be equal to the coins of the fortunate port of Surat, ye shall not insist on a discount: and whosoever of their servants shall be indebted and fly from the place, seize and deliver him to the chief of the factory; and molest them not on account of the penalties on the forbidden articles.

THEY have also represented, that in Bengal, and Bahar, and Orissa, the Company have established factories, and desire to erect factories in other places. They hope, that in whatever place they may establish a factory, forty beegas * of land may be granted them for that purpose out of the high fircar: and their ships are sometimes driven a-shore by the force of the tempests, and wrecked; the magistrates of the ports injuriously seize the goods, and in some places claim a quarter part: and in the island of Bombay belonging to the English, European coins are current; may the fortunate

* A beega is a measure of about one-third of an acre.

coins be struck according to the custom of Cheenapatan.

THE order which must be obeyed is issued forth, let the customs of the other factories in the provinces be observed: and of this society (which has factories in the imperial ports, and dealings at the high court, and has obtained Firmauns, the pledges of favor, exempting them from customs) take care of the goods of the ships which are wrecked and destroyed, and do right by them: and in the island of Bombay let the fortunate coins be struck after the manner of the coins of the empire, and pass current: and on every occasion acting conformably to this enlightened decree, avoid and forbear to do any thing contrary to the strict and high command. And demand not every year a new funnud. In this be exact and punctual. Written on the 27th of Moherrum, in the fifth year of the auspicious reign."

By virtue of this Edict, the Company afterwards carried on their trade to and from Bengal free of duties, and
the

the same privilege was extended by their indulgence to their covenanted servants, with an express exception of the trade in salt, beetle-nut, and other articles, by which the revenues of the government would be prejudiced without any benefit to the Company.

UPON this footing the trade of the English was conducted in Bengal from the year 1716 to 1756, subject however to many interruptions from the avarice and power of the Nabobs, who could not be restrained by the order of the distant emperor, from extorting money from the Company by various means. Upon a complaint or pretence of an injury done to one of the inhabitants of the country, or an illicit trade carried on by any servant of the Company, the Nabob would give orders to stop the currency of their business; nor could this obstacle be taken off, but by the payment of a large sum of money; and sometimes without any pretence, but that of the exigency of the state, the Nabob would demand an aid from all the European settle-



settlements, and all were obliged to pay.

To secure the power of continuing these exactions, the Nabobs positively forbid our erecting any fortifications; and to prevent our making any advances towards an authority over the people of the country, we were not suffered to execute our own laws in capital cases over the subjects of the Nabob, though employed within our own settlement, and residing within our limits; much less durst we give protection to any servant of the country government, or inhabitant of the country, who might seek a retreat under our flag.

At length, in the year 1756, came a Nabob, who was not to be satisfied by levying a sum of money like his predecessors. Serajah Dowla, succeeding his grandfather, promised himself a vast treasure at once from the plunder of the town of Calcutta; and so, upon pretence of our building new fortifications, or in resentment of our protection given to a subject of the government (for both

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these reasons were urged) he attacked, and took all the Company's settlements in Bengal, and thus the country government, by an extravagant and cruel abuse of their power over us, opened the way for the destruction of that power, and for our future security.

THE success of the sea and land forces which were sent to Bengal, upon the news of the capture of Calcutta, under the command of Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive, is sufficiently known. After recovering our settlements, and agreeing to an accommodation with Serajah Dowla, it was suspected that he still had hostile designs, and therefore it was resolved to recommence the war against him. Meer Jaffier, then one of his principal officers, promised to join with us, upon condition that the government should be conferred upon him after the defeat of Serajah Dowla.

ALL these designs were executed with success. We had now a Nabob of our own making, and absolutely dependent upon us for his establishment and future secu-



security. By our influence in the country the Company's trade was freed from the impositions it was before liable to, and they enjoyed the benefit of the Firmaun in its full extent; but their new connections brought on a vast increase of expences in every branch, for which it very soon appeared a sufficient provision was not made. The following is a copy of the Treaty with Meer Jaffier.

Translation of the TREATY *executed by*
MEER JAFFIER.

“ **FIRST**, Whatever articles were agreed upon in the time of peace with the Nabob Serajah Dowlah I agree to comply with.

SECOND, The enemies of the English are my enemies, whether they be Indians or Europeans.

THIRD, All the effects and factories belonging to the French in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, shall remain in possession of the English, nor will I ever allow them any more to settle in the three provinces.



FOURTH, In consideration of the losses, which the English Company have sustained by the plunder and capture of Calcutta by the Nabob, and the charges occasioned by the maintenance of their officers, I will give them a crore of rupees.

FIFTH, For the effects plundered from the English inhabitants of Calcutta, I agree to give fifty lacks of rupees.

SIXTH, For the effects plundered from the Gentoos, Mussulmen and other subjects of Calcutta, twenty lacks of rupees shall be given.

SEVENTH, For the effects plundered from the Armenian inhabitants of Calcutta I will give the sum of seven lacks of rupees : the distribution of the sums allotted the natives, English inhabitants, Gentoos and Mussulmen, shall be left to the Admiral and Colonel Clive, and the rest of the Council, to be disposed of by them, to whom they think proper.

EIGHTH, Within the ditch which surrounds the borders of Calcutta, are tracts of land belonging to several zemindars ; besides this, I will grant the English Company



pany six hundred yards without the ditch.

NINTH, all the land lying to the south of Calcutta as far as Culpee, shall be the zemindarree of the English Company, and all the officers of those parts shall be under their jurisdiction, the revenues to be paid by them (the Company) in the same manner with other zemindars.

TENTH, Whenever I demand the English assistance, I will be at the charge of the maintenance of their troops.

ELEVENTH, I will not erect any new fortifications below Hoogly near the river Ganges.

TWELFTH, As soon as I am established in the government of the three provinces, the aforesaid sums shall be faithfully paid.

Dated 15th Ramezan, in the fourth year of the King's reign."

THE idea of provision for the future seems to have been lost, in the apparent immensity of the sum stipulated for compensation of the Company's losses at the capture of Calcutta. The expences

of Bengal and the coast, the sums for carrying on the Company's trade at both places, and a provision likewise for the China trade, all was to be paid out of this fund, at first thought inexhaustible, but in less than two years it was found necessary to take up money at interest, although large sums had been received besides for bills upon the Court of Directors.

To state this account right, the sum for compensation should be set against the past losses of the Company, and in truth it will not more than repair them. If we examine further the consequences of this event, we shall find, that from a commercial body, founded upon a system of œconomy, we are become from this moment a military and political body ; we have entered into connections with the country government ; we have begun a fortification upon a very extensive plan, to render our influence and command permanent and secure against all accidents ; we have taken upon us the defence of the provinces,
and

and our expences will be daily increasing by an augmentation of sepoys and other country forces, by larger demands of troops from England with constant supplies of artillery and military stores proportionate to our present engagements and views, and lastly, by the purchase of materials and pay of workmen for carrying on the new fort.

To answer all which it is stipulated in the treaty, that whenever the Nabob demands the assistance of the English, he will be at the charge of the maintenance of the troops ; which charge it was afterwards agreed, should be computed at the rate of one lack of rupees *per* month, to be paid by the Nabob during the time the army should be actually in the field. This would barely pay the immediate field expences of the army ; it did not at all take in the increase of the military establishment in general, which heavy expence, when the troops were in garrison, fell entirely upon the Company ; nor was any provision made for the extensive fortifications, and the vast

vast charge of military stores both at home and abroad.

ANY stock which is to suffer continual drafts must soon be exhausted, if not kept supplied by some adequate source of annual revenue. The lands round Calcutta, ceded by the ninth article of the Treaty, yielded only five or six lacks *per annum* nett income to the Company, a sum of no consideration upon our present enlarged system, and of course we shall see in the middle of the year 1760, the Company's affairs in all parts distressed to the last degree for want of money.

WITH respect to trade, no new privileges were asked of Meer Jaffier; none indeed were wanted by the Company, who were contented with the terms granted them in 1716, and only wished to be relieved from the impositions to which they had been exposed from the arbitrary power of the Nabob. However, our influence over the country was no sooner felt, than many innovations were practised by some of the Company's
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ny's servants, or the people employed under their authority. They began to trade in the articles which were before prohibited, and to interfere in the affairs of the country; of which the Nabob complained very frequently to the English resident at his court, and the governor of Calcutta, insisting particularly, that no one should be permitted to trade in salt and beetle-nut. Some of these complaints will be seen in the following letters.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Scrafton, Resident at the Nabob's Court, to P. R. Pearkes, Esq; and the Council at Dacca, without Date, but wrote between the 14th and 21st of July, 1758.

GENTLEMEN,

“ I Acquainted you by express pulwar, of the complaints made to me by the Nabob's Meer Moonshree, of your opposing Nehimodee, in possessing himself of Ruffelpoor and Hydrapoor, for which he had received ample perwanahs from the Nabob's Dewan.

THERE



THERE is likewise a complaint lodged against an English gomastah at Chilmarree, that he gives protection to numbers of merchants who trade there, which has proved a loss to the government of 70,000 rupees; also several complaints of under protection to the zemindars, tenants, and others; my general answer is, that I will write to the gentlemen at Dacca; I persuade myself, that most of these complaints are without grounds, and that you will do your utmost to prevent the encroachments of your black servants."

*Extract of a Letter from Mr. Hastings,
Resident at the Nabob's Court, to W.
B. Sumner, Esq; Chief at Dacca, dated
about the 30th of January, 1759.*

"**I** Have received a long letter from Mahomed Husein, in which he complains, that you have begun to carry on a large trade in salt and beetle-nut, and refuse to pay the duties on those articles, which has likewise encouraged others to do



do the same in your name ; which practice, if continued, will oblige him to throw up his post of Shahbunder Droga. In the affair of Mr. Chevalier's salt you informed me, that you had paid the Shahbunder duties for that parcel ; the same information, I think, I received from Mr. Waller. I have, in another letter, acquainted you with the same complaint from him. What other circumstances there may be in this affair, that might serve to give a different light into it, from what I have conceived from the particulars already mentioned, I know not ; but I must desire, that you will prevent these complaints from going before the Nabob. We have not, I believe, any right to trade in salt and beetle-nut, at least it was never (that I know of) stipulated in our favour with the Nabob ; and with respect to the salt trade, I myself know, that none of the Company's servants, not the Colonel himself, has ever engaged in it without the Nabob's Perwannah."

Extract

Extract of another Letter from the Same to the Same, dated Dec. 12, 1758.

“**T**H E second complaint is, that an English gentleman (Mr. Chevalier, I suppose) has carried a large cargo of salt to Chilmaree, which is an unprivileged trade ; and that he has taken muchulcas from all the other traders in the same article, by which they are not allowed to sell any salt till his shall be all disposed of.”

Extract of another from the Same to the Same.

S I R,

“**M**A N Y complaints have been laid before the Nabob against Mr. Chevalier, who is accused of having acted in a very violent and arbitrary manner at Chilmaree and Cooregaum, by oppressing the merchants of those places in the monopoly of several commodities, particularly salt and tobacco, no one being
allowed

allowed to buy or sell either of those articles but with his permission.

I DESIRE you will make the strictest enquiry into this, and take effectual care to prevent such complaints for the future.

A TRANSLATION of a letter from the Wadadar of the Pergunah under the seal of Mr. Chevalier, in answer to the demand made by him, to know by what authority he came into those parts, I send you herewith ; on which I shall only make this remark ; that the magistrates, and public officers of the government, have an undoubted right to see the Company's dustuck, having no other way to distinguish between the agents of the Company and others usurping the English name ; nor the Company any means besides to secure their own privileges. It cannot therefore but appear strange in any persons employed by the English, that they should make any difficulty to show by what powers they are commissioned ; unless they are conscious, that they are guilty of practices which ought to



to be concealed : at least, such an abrupt behaviour cannot but tend to create an ill-will against the English, and aggravate every complaint made against them.

P. S. I send you a copy of the Wadadar's letter, the circumstance of the Telingas being sent by Mr. Chevalier is only an aggravation, but the rest cannot be without foundation ; I must insist, that you either put an entire stop to those complaints, or recal Mr. Chevalier, who, I am convinced, has not behaved in so moderate or prudent a manner as he ought."

Copy of Mr. Chevalier's Letter to Meer Otta Oolla, Wadadar of the Pergunah of Baharbund.

" **T**HE letter, which you sent to my writer, I have received. You write, that if I belong to the English, I must have the English sunnud, and desire a copy of it to be sent you. In answer, I ask, who are you, that I should send you
a copy

a copy of the funnud ? If you want to be informed who I am, and who sent me, send a man to the Chief, who will answer you. If the people of your Pergunah are guilty of any insolence to mine, I shall chastise them handsomely for it. Forbid your people, that they enter into no quarrels with mine ; if they do without reason, they shall be punished ; if my people behave ill to yours, do you write me word of it, and I will punish them.”

*Extract of a Letter from the Governor
(Mr. Holwell) to Mr. Hastings.
Dated 11 Feb. 1760.*

“ **W**E have returned no reply to the Nabob’s Perwannahs to the council for two reasons ; his large seal affixed to them is derogatory to the Company’s honour, and addressees of this kind to the council must be at all events quashed in the beginning, or the dignity of the president will fall to nothing. If he pleases to address me on those subjects,

jects, I will reply to him ; in the mean-
time, I beg to know, on what pretence
we are prohibited trading in the two ar-
ticles of salt and betel-nut.

SECTION II.

A View of the State of the Country,
and the Company's Affairs at Mr. Van-
fittart's Arrival in Bengal.

*Success of the Shahzadda, in his Invasion
of Bahar. — Bad Conditions of the Na-
bob's and the English Forces in that
Province, and of the Nabob's troops at
Mushedabad. — Low State of the Com-
pany's Treasury ; great Difficulties occa-
sioned thereby. — Disputes concerning the
Succession to the Offices of the Nabob's
deceased Son. — Meer Cossim comes to
Calcutta.*

IT is foreign to my purpose to en-
ter into any detail of the transac-
tions of Myr Jaffier's government, from
the time of his being raised to the suba-
ship



ship, till the month of July 1760, when I came to Bengal to succeed Colonel Clive. It is enough if I give a plain and distinct view of the situation in which I found his affairs, and the Company's.

THE greatest part of the Nabob's and the English forces was at Patna, to oppose the Shahzada, who for three years successively had invaded the province, and at this time was more powerful than ever, by the number of disaffected Zemindars who had joined him, or espoused his interest, in different parts of the country. The Nabob's army consisted as usual of a great number of undisciplined people, who were never regularly paid, but were kept together by the promises of Saddoc Allee Cawn *, the Nabob's son, who commanded them, that he would be answerable for their arrears one time or other. Being disappointed of these hopes by the death of the Nabob's son, who was killed by lightning the 3d of July, their clamorous demands could no longer be restrain-

* Commonly called the Chuta Nabob.

ed, and a general plunder and desertion was daily expected. Colonel Caillaud, who commanded the English forces after Colonel Clive's departure for Europe, stopped these clamors for a moment, by his promises to secure the payment of their arrears from the Nabob ; but the English troops were in little better condition than the Nabob's ; they had two or three months arrears due to them, the Nabob having failed in the payment of the sum stipulated for their maintenance, which was a lack of rupees a month, and the low state of the treasury at Calcutta, not admitting of the deficiency being supplied from thence. The effects of this were seen by the desertion of many of our men ; and the army, thus situated, was within thirty miles of the Shahzada's whole force.

THE situation of affairs at Moorshe-
dabad, where the Nabob resided, was
still more alarming. Far from being in
a condition to pay off the arrears of his
troops at Patna, he had a large number
of the same undisciplined rabble about
his



his person, and was no less in arrears to them ; these also losing their best dependence, by the death of the Nabob's son, could no longer be satisfied with promises, but insisted, in a most tumultuous manner, on immediate payment. More than once they surrounded the palace, abused the principal officers in the most opprobrious language, and daily threatened the Nabob's life ; thro' the weakness of his government, and the general disaffection of the people, the revenues of most parts of the province were withheld by the Zemindars, and the Nabob had so little attention to, or capacity for business, that what little was collected, was in a great measure appropriated by his favorites to their own profit. The Beerboom Raja, whose country is situated within a few miles of the capital, Moorshedabad, had declared for the Shahzadah, and had raised a force, with which he threatened to attack the city ; and the Nabob had so little power of opposing him, that a body of troops, which were ordered out against him in

the month of June, refused to march, and were yet in the suburbs, when I arrived there in the month of October. Upon the whole, there was the greatest reason to apprehend, that the disorderly troops would lay waste and plunder the city, and put an end at once to the Nabob's government and life.

AT Calcutta, the treasury was so low, and our resources so much drained, that we were obliged to put an entire stop to the investment, and it was with the utmost difficulty the current expences of the settlement could be provided for. The lack of rupees, which the Nabob was to pay monthly for the field-expences of our troops, remained, as I before observed, two or three months in arrears ; and even supposing it to have been regularly paid, was very insufficient for the intended use ; so that the Company, upon this footing, would have suffered a considerable loss by their alliance with the Nabob, as often as the situation of affairs required their troops to be in the field, of which the appearance

ance of troubles on every side, afforded no prospect of an end. The Burdwan and Nuddea countries had been assigned to the Company, from April 1758, to April 1760, for the payment of the sums stipulated in the treaty, for the restitution of the Company's and private losses by the capture of Calcutta. Of that amount about twenty lacks remained due, at the time of my arrival, although the term of the assignment had been expired some months: and the Nabob, at the same time that he could find no means of discharging this balance, insisted on the lands being restored to him, offering a security of jewels in their stead. He sent the Royroyan, one of his principal officers to Calcutta, to make this demand, and at the same time to request the loan of a sum of money to assist him in his distress. The last was a proposal we had it not in our power to comply with; but the first could not in justice be refused, as he was willing to give other security, in lieu of the lands before assigned; so that we were absolutely left without any

resources for money, and the Company sent out none from Europe. To add to our difficulties, Madras and Bombay were told, that they must depend on supplies from Bengal ; and in the midst of this distress, not only the dangerous state of the province obliged us to keep all our forces in the field at an immense expence, but a still more interesting object for the English nation in India, I mean the success of the undertaking against Pondicherry, which was then invested, depended in a great measure on a supply of money. The Nabob, thro' an habitual indolence, was quite incapable of managing his government in such critical circumstances ; and the sudden and unfortunate death of his son, had thrown him into such a state of dejection, that he would not even try to exert the little strength which his faculties had left.

UNABLE as the Nabob was to help himself, it was the universal opinion, founded on the experience of his former conduct, that he would rather have seen
himself



himself and the province involved in one general ruin, than have given us the means of saving him, by putting more power and more resources of money in our hands. The Dutch Director's letters to him, and his behaviour at the time their forces came into the country, are a public testimony of his desire to reduce our power, instead of augmenting it : I asked a small favor of him for the Company, a little after my arrival, as much with a view of founding his disposition, as through a desire of obtaining it. It was the grant of the Chittagong province, in farm to the Company, on the same terms as it was held by the then Fougendar, or if that was disagreeable, the leave only of establishing a factory there for trade ; but he positively refused to admit of either. I determined not to suffer the affairs of the nation and the Company to fall under the ruin they were threatened with, without making an attempt to save them, and far from intending any injury to the Nabob, I considered the preservation of his life

and government, as equally depending with our own interests, on the immediate prosecution of some methods for remedying the difficulties with which we were surrounded. One principal circumstance of the impending evils suggested the first hopes of a reformation. The death of the Nabob's son had cut off the heir apparent of the government: he had two sons by concubines, and a grandson, the child of his deceased son, by a concubine also; the eldest of his two sons was little above ten years old, and his grandson an infant of a few months, so that they were incapable of taking care of the business, supposing the objection of their illegitimacy to be of no weight. In these circumstances the whole province seemed to turn their eyes on Meer Cossim, who was married to Meer Jaffier's daughter, his only surviving legitimate child; was esteemed a capable man in business, and had been the means of preserving the city from plunder, and the Nabob from destruction, by an immediate payment of three
lacks



lack of rupees to his troops, and becoming a security for their arrears at the time of their tumultuously surrounding the palace ; and this he did, upon promise of being appointed to the vacant offices of his deceased son, and declared his successor. I found Mr. Holwell and the Select Committee, had strongly recommended to the Nabob to perform this promise ; on the other hand, Mr. Amyatt and Colonel Caillaud had wrote to him in favor of his infant grandson, representing, that the troops at Patna insisted on his being named to the vacant offices, and that Raja Rajebullub, late Dewan to the Nabob's deceased son, should have the management of them during his minority. The Nabob seemingly acquiesced in both recommendations, but continued wavering in his choice, in such a manner, as shewed, that the encrease of the English influence was the event that he most dreaded in the appointment of either. This is the only clue which can lead to the motives of the many opposite resolutions



tions which were taken up by the Nabob, upon this affair, in the small space of time in which it was suspended. His inclinations first led him to accept the advice offered him by Colonel Caillaud, in favor of his grandson; but when that advice was urged in a more pressing and peremptory stile, and Rajebullub, by his emissaries and friends at the Durbar, too sollicitously labored to bring about the same design, the Nabob became jealous of his growing power, and suddenly declared his resolution to support Meer Cossim in his pretensions, as will appear by the letter he wrote Mr. Holwell and Colonel Caillaud upon this subject. On the other hand, the Nabob perceiving that Meer Cossim was warmly supported by Mr. Holwell, appears to have formed the wild scheme of shaking off both, by throwing all the chief offices of the government into the hands of a stranger, named Mirza Daoood, who had for some years enjoyed the protection of this court in the character of a prince of the royal blood of Persia. Him the Nabob



bob formally contracted to the natural daughter of his deceased son but a few days after the declaration made in favor of Meer Cossim, who, apprehensive of being disappointed in his hopes, by the jealousy and irresolution of the Nabob, formed the pretence of negotiating the restoration of Burdwan, and the other assigned lands, to obtain his leave to come down to Calcutta. He arrived there about the middle of September. As he came down with these fears and suspicions of the Nabob's disinclination to him, for the favor already shewn him by the English, it naturally led him to fall in with any measures which might be proposed by them, as a means of securing the continuation of the same interest in his behalf.

SECTION III.

The Proceedings of the Select Committee, to the Treaty concluded with Meer Cossim.

Meer Cossim's Proposals.—Mr. Holwell's Memorial of the State of the Country.—Letters between Mr. Vansittart, Mr. Amyatt, and Colonel Caillaud.—Letter from the Resident at the Nabob's Court, concerning the Sedition of the Nabob's troops at Moorshedabad.—Letters from the Nabob to Colonel Caillaud and Mr. Holwell.—Extract of a Letter from the Select Committee at Bengal, to the President and Council of Madras.—Minutes of Council concerning the low State of the Treasury.—Letter from Mr. Sykes to Mr. Vansittart. — Debates of the Select Committee upon the dangerous State of the Country.—General Considerations upon the State of the Company's Affairs, and their Connections

nections with Meer Jaffier. — Treaty with Meer Cossim.

TH E chief objects the Select Committee now had in view were, first, to secure the Company a revenue proportionable to the increased military expences, brought upon them by their connections with the Nabob, and which the assignment made by him, besides the uncertainty of the payment, was by no means equal to ; and, secondly, to put an end to the war in Bengal, either by a decisive action, or by entering into an alliance with the Shahzada, to support his pretensions to the throne of Indostan : for the first of these, Meer Cossim readily agreed to cede to the Company lands, to the yearly amount of about fifty lacks of rupees, consisting of the Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong provinces, upon condition of our securing his appointment to the vacant offices of the Nabob's deceased son, the chief administration of all the affairs of the government under Meer Jaffier, and the succes-



succession to the subaship after his death. The second point was left to be determined by the negociations which had already been set on foot with the Shahzada ; but whether the intended alliance with him should take place or not, it was to make no difference in our engagements with Meer Cossim.

THE following authentic Papers will sufficiently shew the necessity of our entering into these engagements with Meer Cossim, and giving him so extensive a power; from the critical state of the Company's affairs, and those of the country at this period, and the Nabob's inability to remedy the one, and his ill disposition to contribute any assistance to the other.

Copy of the Memorial delivered by the President (Mr. Holwell) to the Select Committee, upon the Arrival of Mr. Vansittart, to succeed him in the Government.

“ **A**S my health, and the consideration of other circumstances, will
soon



soon oblige me to request permission from the board to resign the service, I beg leave, previous to that step, to accompany this short address with such remarks and memorials, as may convey to the President (so lately arrived amongst us) a knowledge of the present state and situation of the Company's affairs, as they stand connected with, or are dependent on the government of Bengal.

To form a judgment of the present state of things in Bengal, it will be needful to retrospect on the late revolution of the year 1757, when necessity, and a just resentment for the most cruel injuries, obliged us to enter into a plan to deprive Serajah Dowla of his government, which was accordingly done, and Meer Mahomed Jaffier Allee Cawn fixed by us at the head of the province on certain conditions, and under a treaty of alliance offensive and defensive.

A SHORT space of time fully proved how unworthy the family thus raised ! The conditions of the treaty could not be obtained from the Nabob, without
being

being in a manner extorted from him, and by a thousand shifts and evasions it was plain to the world not a single article would ever have been complied with, had the Nabob been invested with power sufficient to have prevented it, or could he have divested himself of his own fears and apprehensions from our resentment.

TUNCAWS on the lands were however granted for the payment of the stipulated sums at particular times, by which the Royroyan, Muttasuddies, Dewans, and every Harpey employed in the Zemindarree and revenues, became our implacable enemies ; and consequently a party was soon raised at the Durbar, headed by the Nabob's son Meeran, and Rajah Rajebullub, who were daily planning schemes to shake off their dependence on the English ; and continually urging to the Nabob, that till this was effected his government was a name only. The Nabob, something irritated by the protection given Rajah Doolubram, and weak and irresolute in himself, fell too soon into these sentiments.



THE first step taken to accomplish this measure of independence, was to assassinate, and take off, under one pretence or other, every minister and officer at the Durbar, who they knew were attached to the English ; in consequence of which, Coja Haddy, and Coffim Allee Cawn, first and second Buxey, were assassinated in November and December 1758 ; and after many attempts made on the persons of Rehiem Cawn, and Golam Shah, his uncle and brother, they were obliged to seek an asylum with the Shahzada in 1759. Roydoolub, his son, and four brothers, were proscribed, on no other account, but that of the various informations he gave us, and his firm attachment ; this family would have fallen a sacrifice, had they not been rescued out of the Nabob's hands by force of arms ; Ameer Beg Cawn would, from the same cause, have suffered the same fate, had he not given his solemn engagement to quit the kingdom, which he accordingly did.



THE next project of the Durbar appeared, by every concurring subsequent circumstance, to be a secret negotiation with the Dutch, for transporting troops from Batavia into these provinces, that with their united force a stop might be put to the power of the English. This scheme was conducted by Raja Rajebul-lub on the one part, and * Fucratoojar for the Dutch on the other, about October or November 1758, the period when the Deccan expedition took place, and the garrison was much reduced. Soon after, the provinces were invaded by the Shahzada on the side of Patna, and Colonel Clive with our military and seapoys joined the Nabob and his troops, and by forced marches preserved Raja Ramnain steady in his duty, and arrived just in time to save that city and province, and drove the prince, though the undoubted heir to the kingdom, beyond the Currumnassa, and brought the Bougepoor, &c. countries into subjection to the Nabob.

* Coja Wâjeed.

THE

THE prince more than once wrote to the Colonel, offering any terms for the Company and himself, on condition the English would quit the Nabob, and join his arms ; but the Colonel thinking it incompatible with our treaty of alliance with the Nabob, gave the prince no encouragement.

AT the end of the campaign the Colonel returned to us in June 1759, and the two Nabobs arrived in the city about the same time, with full conviction of our firm attachment to his government and family, and our religious regard to our treaties ; what sense they retained of these obligations, and how long, will appear by and by.

THE Nabobs, thinking themselves now better established in the government, and screened by such a sure and powerful support as our arms, began to set no bounds to their cruelties, oppressions, and exactions, from those who had any thing to be plundered of ; and this barely received a check from the severe and frequent remonstrances of the Colonel to the Nabob,

bob, on a conduct which he told him must, from the general detestation of the people, end in the destruction of himself, his family and country. His troops clamorous at the same time for their pay, whilst the Nabob, in place of appropriating the sums he had acquired by repeated assassinations to the just demands of his jemmatdars and troops, lavished the same in boundless extravagancies.

ABOUT the latter end of July 1759, the young Nabob arrived on a pretended visit to Colonel Clive, but the real motive was to negotiate, if possible, the delivery of Rajah Doolubram, and two or three other articles given him in charge by his father, such as the surrender of the tuncaw lands on security, the borrowing of us a large sum of money, &c. In these the son proving unsuccessful, a member of the board of Select Committee was, at his desire, sent to accompany him to the city, to reconcile the Nabob to the negatives his son had received in Calcutta, and at the same time to intimate to him the advice we had received,
that



that a large armament was fitting out at Batavia, destined for Bengal ; and to penetrate, if possible, his sentiments on this occasion ; and what resolution he would take, in case that force arrived in the river.

HE was not to be reconciled to the refusals his son met with, but determined to try his own power, and declared his intentions to pay the Colonel a visit himself in September ; which he did with success equal to his son ; he seemed to make light of the Dutch intelligence, and not to give credit to it, though he discovered much perplexity ; however, he wrote a letter to the Colonel, demanding our assistance, by virtue of the treaty of alliance, in case the Dutch troops came into the river.

THE armament arrived during his visit ; his stay after that was short, his mind much embarrassed, and his whole subsequent conduct gave most undoubted proofs, that the Dutch forces were arrived by his invitation. That such were the sentiments of Colonel Clive

and the Council, appears from the narrative of that Dutch business, transmitted to the Honourable the Court of Directors, and to our several Admirals ; a perusal of this narrative will convince the impartial, that the Nabob, in his behaviour on this occasion, was guilty of a most flagitious breach of the article of the treaty of alliance ; and that from this period, no terms whatever should have been preserved with him, after such unexampled treachery and ingratitude ; to which, by way of illustration, we may add the subsequent farces carried on between the Nabob and the Dutch, as set forth in the several letters between Mr. Holwell and the Resident at Muradbaug on this subject ; by reference to which it will appear most manifest, that the Nabob's real intentions never were to distress effectually that people ; but on the contrary, were only aimed to amuse and deceive us : witness the private orders and instructions given to Meer Cossim Allee Cawn, so opposite to his public ones, when he was sent down to demolish



molish the new works at Chintfura. In the apparent delays of this service, Cofsim Allee Cawn suffered much in the opinion of the late President, though unjustly, as we subsequently learn he was acting strictly conformable to the private orders of the Nabob.

IN the beginning of the year 1760, the Shahzada invaded the provinces again with a force more respectable than the preceding year, both in troops and commanders, by the revolt of Camgar Cawn, Golam Shaw, Reim Cawn and others; the Nabob by this time having made himself so universally hated, that we may justly say, there was hardly a man in the province that did not wish success to the prince.

COLONEL Clive resigned the government early in February 1760, about which time the Morattas entered the province from the southward, and penetrated into the Burdwan country, making a considerable diversion in favor of the prince. The Nabob demanded a body of our troops, seapoys, and field-artillery,



lery, for the defence of this country, to join his under the command of Meer Coffim Allee Cawn, which was granted; but their use was frustrated by the Nabob's pusillanimous, irregular, and contradictory orders to his general Coffim Allee Cawn, to march with our troops to Cutwa and the city, in place of marching directly to the southward. Thus this country fell a prey to the Morattas, and a stop was put to the collecting our tuncaws, in which was our greatest dependence and expectation for the service of the year*. Our troops under the command of major Caillaud had taken the field, in conjunction with the Nabob's, under the command of his son, sometime before the Colonel's departure for Europe, and shaped their rout towards Patna, whilst the Nabob himself remained in the neighborhood of Rajemahl, a check on Cuddeem Hosein Cawn, Nabob of Purnea (then in rebellion) until Shu-

* See military correspondence in the months of February and March 1760.



but's * advance, recalled him to the city. A regular and particular detail of the transactions of this laborious campaign will not be expected here, as the progress of it will present itself in the course of the military correspondence laid before the Committee, therefore general remarks on the success, effects, and probable consequences, will be sufficient.

THIS, like the former ones, has produced no definitive action or stroke, to lay the least foundation of peace to the provinces. In the course of this campaign three morally sure and important opportunities were lost by the cowardice of both the Nabobs ; the first, when the young Nabob refused to join the major, in the immediate pursuit of the Shahzada when routed near Patna ; the second, when the old Nabob refused to comply with the major's request and demand, to cross his horse over the Burdwan river, and attack the prince when united with Shubut, &c. ; the third, when in the late

The name of a Moratta General.

pursuit

purfuit of Cuddeem Hofein Cawn, the young Nabob refused to lead or detach his horfe to the major's affiftance, by which a general action might have been brought on : but, on the contrary, he kept encamped two or three miles in the major's rear, as if his intentions were to leave our troops, without horfe, a facrifice to the enemy.

HAD the moft been made of either of thofe favorable occasions, the ftroke had, in all human probability, been decifive ; as it is, it only proves, that we continue to draw our fwords in fupport of a family, moft unworthy the government they have by our affiftance ufurped, and this to the manifelt hazard and ruin of the Company's trade and concerns.

ON the near approach of the major to Patna, he received a Firmaun from the prince, of which he advifed the board, and promifed to forward a copy, but no wonder, that, in the courfe of fo extraordinary and fatiguing a campaign, it fhould efcape his memory. On the Shahzada's arrival in the Beerboom country, after
the

the unexpected march he formed upon his defeat, the President received intelligence, that the old Nabob had actually a Vackeel in the Shahzada's camp, and that he was negotiating a separate treaty with him. This appeared to have so dangerous a tendency, that any means were eligible to obtain the truth of it.

THE late president, by a third hand, procured Affed Zemina Cawn Rajah of Beerboom, and his uncle Camgar Cawn, to be written to on this subject of the Nabob's Vackeel and treaty. This soon produced a Firmaun from the prince, inclosing a copy of the Nabob's Arzdasht. The President made no reply to the Firmaun, but returned a short one to Camgar Cawn's letter which accompanied it, intimating, that copies carried little validity where originals were in being.

A FEW days before the prince began his retreat from the hills, the President received a second Firmaun from him, inclosing the original Arzdasht from the Nabob. All that can be said, either for
or

or against belief being given to the authenticity either of the copy or original, will appear on the face of the correspondence, in two letters from the President to the major, under dates the twenty-second and twenty-fourth of April last, and to Mr. Hastings, the twentieth of the same month. To these we may further add, that if they are forgeries, they have yet this corroborating signature of truth, that the whole tenor of the Nabob's conduct most exactly tallies with the terms of the *Arzdasht*. But to resume the course of the campaign to the present time.

PATNA is relieved, and secure for the present. Cuddeem Hosein Cawn is dispossessed of his government of Purnea, and driven out of the country, but with all his treasure and valuable effects, to the reproach and infamy of the young Nabob's name; so that, after the rains, he will easily join the prince with the essentials of war, which he only wants to harass the provinces five years longer. The young Nabob is taken off by a flash
of



of lightening, and our troops are gone into quarters, after having done as much, or more than could be expected, from men so wretchedly supported by those very people, for whose preservation they endure every distress and fatigue; and the prince has found means to preserve himself and forces a footing on this side the Soane, and in the neighborhood of Patna. It is said, Camgar Cawn has forsaken the cause of the prince, which appears most improbable, not only on account of his having no other chance for reimbursing himself but perseverance, but because we had undoubted intelligence, that three thousand of his troops have lately joined his nephew Affed Zemina * Cawn, who has thrown off his allegiance to the Nabob. These troops are, doubtless, lodged to make an early and important diversion at the opening of the next campaign, by entering the Burdwan country, as soon as the prince begins to be in motion above; and thus our supplies from

* The Rajah of Beerboom.

thence

thence will be again cut off, and the Company's affairs be reduced to the last extremity of distress, unless the approaching ships of the season relieve us, or the whole tuncaws on those lands could be collected during the rains. The latter is hardly possible in any serviceable degree, and the former carries very little probability. The late proposal of the Nabob's to pay our balances, and resume his lands, is devoutly to be wished ; but it is likewise to be feared he has no meaning in it.

THE various reasons, urged against the measures of supporting the present government longer on the plan we have been some time pursuing, to the heavy injury of the Company, with various expedients to rescue them from manifest approaching ruin, are set forth at large, in the military correspondence, in a letter from the President to major Caillaud, under dates the 24th and 25th of May, 14th of June, and 3d of July ; to Mr. Amyatt, under dates the 25th and 30th of May ; to Mr. Hastings, under dates
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the 24th of May, 30th of June, and 5th and 8th of July. Both the reasons and expedients, in the present state of affairs, seem rather to confirm than contra-indicate any other; however, the sudden death of the young Nabob (if made a proper use of) seems to point out a middle way, if things are not gone too far already, to admit of any other than the divesting this family of the government altogether *.

RESPECTING all matters relative to the Dutch and the Nabob, the Dutch and us, the tuncaws and obstructions raised by the Nabob on our collecting them, as also the late secret treaty between the Nabob and the Morattas, &c they will appear on the face of the correspondence without exaggeration."

* See the President's letter to Mr. Hastings of the 16th of last month, and to major Caillaud of the 26th, on the same subject.



*Extract of a Letter from Mr. Vanfittart,
Governor of Calcutta, to Colonel Cail-
laud, commanding the Army at Patna,
dated August 4, 1760.*

“ I SUPPOSE the Nabob, when he answers the letters I have wrote him, will in consequence of your advice propose a meeting, and indeed I think it highly necessary. When such a conference is resolved upon, I will let you know in time to be there ; and I think we should find the means of removing that want of confidence, which I see now every moment between the Nabob and our gentlemen. It is this mistrust, that seems to me to be in great measure the cause of all his difficulties and ours. His people flight him, imagining, that with us they will be sure to find protection ; and on the other hand, those with whom the Company have to do, those particularly upon whom we have assignments for money, make use of it as an opportunity of delaying their payments, depending



pending on the Nabob's countenancing their backwardness.

IF a negotiation with the prince should take place, I am so far from intending a revolution in these provinces, that I would have the confirmation of the present Nabob stipulated for the first article ; it might, however, be upon condition of his making over to us countries, to the value of about fifty lacks *per annum*. Burdwan and * Kishnagur would nearly answer that sum, and lie extremely convenient for us. The Shahzada, at the same time, should engage to furnish the Company monthly with twice as much as would defray the charges of the troops destined for his service ; and to confer on the Company, in case of his success, such privileges and advantages in all parts of India, as their several governors might request."

* Or Nuddea.



Extract of a Letter from Colonel Caillaud to Mr. Vanfittart, to which Mr. Amyatt, Chief at Patna, also subscribed; no Date, but received 24 Aug. 1760.

“ **I**T were to be wished, that confidence between us and the Nabob could be established; but give me leave to assure you, that will be no easy task, until he changes his counsellors. My opinion in this is confirmed by Colonel Clive’s judgment, who wanted such a change, and would have effected it, had he stayed; but I hope the same from your management.

THE money matters still perplex me more; the state of our finances at Bengal you are before this acquainted with. The countries you mention are the best we could have for the sum wanted; but nothing will induce the Nabob to part with them, but the fear of our strength and power; and not much less force is requisite to keep him in awe, and to prevent enemies from within or without disturbing the peace of the Subahship, which,
if



if not perfectly maintained, of consequence the revenues suffer. The Nabob would not be a poorer man, by giving us fifty lacks *per annum*, with which he would have a body of forces, that would do him service ; and it does not cost him less than that sum for maintaining an useless rabble : but to convince him of this step, there lies the difficulty ; the Colonel's last letter to him was full of salutary instructions on this head ; but he is of so mistrustful a nature, that already our power and influence, though meant for his good, give him pain ; and every thing that we can propose, that seemingly tends to encrease it, gives him umbrage, and will make him unwillingly consent to this, or any other step we can propose. Be assured of this, that he can only be frightened into compliance ; and so you see it is my opinion, that though the prince goes, we cannot send both men and money to Madras.

IN my two last letters, I have spoke fully as to the affairs of this province ; and gave such reasons as I had for the

appointment of * Meer Sidoo and Rajebullub; at least what I have most strongly urged, and it seems to be your opinion, that no change should be made for the present. The Nabob's usage of me in the course of this affair hath piqued me sensibly; nor will I let it go unnoticed. I do not quarrel with the man for being of a different opinion with me, had he ingenuously told me so, for I left all to his choice, and only advised him what I thought best; but he agreed by his letters to all I proposed, allowed it was the best that could be done, and approved of all my measures; whilst, at the same time, he was acting diametrically opposite, without ever considering me, or the engagements I had entered into upon the strength of his promises."

* The Nabob's grandson.



*Extract of a Letter from Mr. Amyatt to
Mr. Vanfittart, and Colonel Caillaud.
Dated Patna, October 5, 1760.*

GENTLEMEN,

“ I Am favoured with your’s of the 25th ultimo, and am very glad you have taken steps to supply us with money ; we have laboured under great difficulties for want of it, and a small supply to the Nabob’s troops would have enabled Rajebullub to quit this place, who is very anxious and desirous to get away, and without some money he cannot. He has run the risque of his life these three days, and I expected an uproar in the city hourly. To-day they are somewhat quiet, and Ramnarain has sent for some of the chief commanders to expostulate with them ; but without some money sent him, he says, he cannot, nor will undertake to satisfy them. I have talked to Ramnarain all in my power, to take the command of them, that Rajebullub may go ; and I cannot but say he has a great deal of reason on his side, they

F 3

they are such a set of rabble, and he without money, besides his own troops unpaid ; they will not hear reason ; some money must be given immediately, and where that is to come from he does not know. The Nabob has not wrote to them or Rajebullub, and Cossim Allee Cawn to a very few, so that they are outrageous. They say, the Colonel and Rajebullub kept them together ; one is gone, and sent them no money, and the latter they expect to make their pay good ; so that here is a fine spot of confusion ; our army only prevents matters coming to extremities. I apprehend, when the prince hears all this, we shall have him move this way. Were all these troublesome forces joined with him it would be nothing ; but they within and the prince without is bad, though, I hope, as we are a little quiet to-day, that Ramnarain will be able to work upon them ; Rajebullub in these matters is a child to the other.”



*Extract of a Letter from Mr. Amyatt
to Mr. Vansittart and Colonel Caillaud.
Dated Patna, October 12, 1760.*

“ **T**HE Nabob’s seepoys are daily deserting to the prince ; the remainder labour under great difficulties, and are very troublesome for their pay.”

*Extract of a Letter from Mr. Hastings,
Resident at the Nabob’s Court, to the
Select Committee at Calcutta. Dated
Muradbaug, July 18, 1760.*

“ **M**Y last gave you the melancholy news of the Chuta Nabob’s death. It is proper, that I now acquaint you with the consequences of that event here. No sooner was the intelligence published, than the seepoys, no longer intimidated by the authority of the Chuta Nabob, nor the presence of the English forces, which had hitherto restrained them from giving scope to their resentment against the Nabob, immediately concurred to take the advantage, which his grief, and the consternation caused
F 4 by

by so sudden and fatal a stroke afforded them, to compel him to pay their long arrears. They accordingly encompassed his palace on the 14th, in a clamorous manner, but proceeded no further than to insult the treasurer and other muttasfeddees, whom they pulled out of their pallanquins, and treated with other indignities. The same disorders continued the next day. On the 16th, they assembled in a large body, and stopped up the doors of the palace, suffering none to enter, or come out of it. Numbers mounted on every wall, not excepting the places held the most sacred, and loaded the Nabob with the most opprobrious language, threatening him with death, if their demands were not complied with. Such of his courtiers or attendants, as made their appearance, were assaulted by fragments broke off from the walls, by which several persons of distinction were wounded. This scene lasted two days, and seemed to portend the certain destruction of the Nabob; when Coffim Allee Cawn, the Nabob's son-in-law, by his



his interposition, put a stop to the persecution, and brought on an accommodation. The Nabob has promised to pay the full arrears from the sixth sun, and two half months of the present year, as soon as it shall appear from the accounts what money is due to them. For this payment, Cossim Allee Cawn became security, and paid them immediately three lacks of rupees from his own treasury. This satisfied the seepoys, who instantly retired to their own habitations. Though the storm is now blown over, yet should it return again (which is to be apprehended, from the small prospect there at present appears, that the Nabob will be able to collect so large a sum as he has engaged to discharge) I much fear the consequences will prove fatal to the Nabob, as well from the unruliness and disaffection of the multitude, as from the machinations of his numerous enemies, with whom it will be no difficulty to make those the instruments of his ruin.

ASSED ZEMMA CAWN, the Rajah of Beerboom, is assembling forces, and, tho'

no open hostilities have been committed by him, it is no longer doubted, but his design is to revolt from the present government."

*Translation of a Letter from the Nabob
to Colonel Caillaud.*

“ **F**ORMERLY the command of the forces, the government of the country, the regulating of the army, and raising of troops, were the office of the Nabob Nafir-ool-moolk, deceased. At this time, excepting my beloved son Meer Mahomed Cossim Cawn Behader, there is none of my sons or brethren equal to that trust, and I have now received greater proofs than ever of his merit. For this reason I have judged my son aforesaid worthy of, and proper for the direction of all military operations and affairs of the administration in the same manner with the Nabob Nafir-ool-moolk, deceased. I doubt not, that you have the same opinion of the qualities and capacity of my son aforesaid; and the friendship you entertain for him is free from deceit

deceit and design. From the entire dependance, which he places upon your established acquaintance and friendship, he hopes that you will assist him on this occasion, by exerting your influence so effectually in his behalf, that Mharajah Ramnarain Behader may be entirely pleased with my son, and maintain a friendly intercourse with him; that when required he may afford the said Mharajah his assistance and support, as the late Nabob Nafir-ool-moolk did. By this our friendship will be daily augmented, the affairs of the government will prosper, and you will do me a great pleasure."

Translation of a Letter from the Nabob to Mr. Holwell. Received July 10, 1760.

"**T**HE letter you wrote me concerning Meer Mahomed Cossim Allee Cawn, I have received. You acquaint me, he is a noble, good, and brave man. Mr. Hastings also has spoke me to the same purpose, and has desired me, to let him succeed my son. This rejoiced,



joiced me much, because I was sensible he is highly deserving of my favour and friendship. I have no friends dearer to me than himself and family, and should be very glad, if it was in my power to give it him ; but the Colonel has wrote me a letter *, a copy whereof I have inclosed for your perusal, and you will then be able to judge, what motive has induced me to prefer the Chuta Nabob's son."

Extract of a Letter from the Select Committee at Calcutta, to the President and Council of Fort St. George. Dated July 28, 1760.

"**W**E have received your favours of the 12th June and 7th July, and are sorry to find there is any prospect of being under the necessity of raising the blockade of Pondicherry. We flatter ourselves, however, that affairs will take a more favorable turn ; and that when the expected succours arrive, you will be fully enabled to carry into execution your most sanguine expectations. We most

* This was a letter, recommending the infant grandson under the guardianship of Rajebullub.
ardently

ardently wish it were in our power to assist you on this important occasion with men or money ; but such is our situation, that notwithstanding our unwearyed endeavors, we are not able to effect either. The Shahzada, with his forces, had crossed the river Soane, which afforded a prospect of the Patna province being restored to peace for a few months at least ; but the death of the young Nabob, which happened by a flash of lightning on the 3d of July, has encouraged the Shahzada to return within a few cofs of Patna. Major Caillaud, with our troops, and those of the Nabob under his command, by our latest advices, was in that city, so that an action may very probably ensue.

EVERY method has in vain been tried for raising a sum of money, as well for supplying your settlement, as providing an investment here for the Company. The troubles which have this season continued so late in the country, have so much impeded the collection of our tuncaws, that for a considerable time past, we have
had

had little more money in our treasury; than sufficient to defray the current expences of the settlement. This being the real situation of our affairs, we persuade ourselves you will be convinced, that your not receiving the supplies you may have expected from us, is not owing to any neglect in us ; as we can on the contrary assure you, we should, on all occasions, most chearfully contribute every thing in our power for the good of the service in general.”

Extract of a Consultation held at Calcutta the 7th of August, 1760. Present Messieurs Vanfittart, Sumner, Holwell, M^c Gwire, Batson, Verelst, Smyth, and Smith.

“ **I**N order to determine upon the expediency of complying with the application of the Committee of Aurungs, for a sufficient advance of money, to compleat the investment intended this year, the Board think it necessary to enquire into the present state of the treasury ; and the further supplies that we have



have to depend on, supposing none to come from Europe by the ships of this season ; and to set against them first, the indispensable demands for the current charges of the Presidency, as the pay of the troops, the marine charges, the fortifications and repairs, &c.

ACCORDINGLY, the following calculation * is now framed to include a whole year, commencing the 1st of August 1760, and ending the 31st of July 1761.

	<i>Rupees.</i>
Remaining this day in the } treasury	1,00,000

To

* The amount of this calculation is 37,50,000 rupees, to which we may add twelve lacks for the yearly amount of the lack of rupees *per* month, which the Nabob had stipulated to be paid for the field expences of our troops. The whole sum will be 49,50,000 ; of which it is to be observed, that thirty-seven lacks were to be paid by the Nabob, and therefore could by no means be depended on. The remainder is only 12,50,000 rupees, a sum very insufficient for defraying even the current expences of the settlement.

Rupees.

To be received from the Nabob the full amount of his debt, about } 25,00,000

To be received from the Company's lands } 8,00,000

Land and sea customs 1,50,000

In sales in the import warehouse, and bills of exchange on Europe } 2,00,000

 37,50,000

OF which it may be computed, that eighteen lacks of rupees will be required for the indispensable charges of the troops, fortifications, &c. for twelve months, from the 1st of August 1760, to the 31st of July 1761. And the President represents to the Board, that the want of money upon the coast began to be very pressing before he left it; so that there seems to be an absolute and immediate necessity for sending at least ten lacks to Madras,



Madras, otherwise the vast sums already disbursed there, and all the advantages thereby acquired over the enemy, will be lost, at a crisis too, when there is a great probability of pursuing the blow with success to the utmost accomplishment of our wishes, by the reduction of Pondicherry.

THESE ten lacks for Madras, must therefore be made up out of the first money than can be got together, whether by loan or by the Nabob's tuncaws and assignments. There will yet remain ten lacks out of the foregoing computation, which will serve to begin upon an investment next year, if no other more urgent occasion should demand a supply from it.

BUT for the present year, it is absolutely impossible, unless our honorable masters should, contrary to their last mentioned intentions, send us a supply on the expected ships. Upon the whole, it is the unanimous opinion of the board, that it will be most for the Company's interest, in this case of necessity, to stop any further advances on account of this year's investment."



Copy of a Letter from Mr. Sykes to Mr. Vanfittart. Dated Cossimbuzar, September 16, 1760.

“ **I** Now enclose you two letters from the Nabob, on perusal of which you will find I have not been successful in my application to him for the fougadarree of Chittagong and Silhet. He has acquainted me just now with the result of his consultation yesterday with his ministers, which is a downright refusal, alledging, that these two provinces he has assigned for the maintenance of two of his sons, and Moniloll acts as their Dewan. I informed him, that you did not mean, that our having these two countries should be any loss to him in his revenues, as we would pay the same as the present possessor does; yet he seems to think, that if we have once a factory at Chittagong, his people will be greatly controuled in the transactions in those parts.”

Copy



Copy of the Proceedings at a Select Committee held at Calcutta, Sept. 11, 1760.
Present Mef. Vanfittart, Caillaud, Sumner, Holwell, and M'Gwire.

“ **T**HE Colonel informs the Committee, that he left Patna the 31st of last month, at which time the prince was at Dowdnagore on this side the Soane ; that all the reports of his crossing it were over, and that Monsieur Law, with Mudara Dowla, was preparing to repass the river and join him. It was said, their next motion would be towards Camgar Cawn, with whom the operations of the next campaign were to be settled.

BEFORE we resolve upon a plan of future operations, we will attempt a description of the state the Company's affairs are now in ; and this not to be confined to Bengal, but with regard also to the exigencies of the other settlements, who are told to depend on this for supplies of money. Our influence encreasing from time to time, since the revolution brought



brought about by Colonel Clive, so have we been obliged to encrease our force to support that influence. We have now more than a thousand Europeans and five thousand seepoys, which, with the contingent expences of an army, is far more than the revenues allotted for their maintenance. This deficiency was not so much attended to whilst the immense sums stipulated by the last treaty were coming in; but these resources being now quite exhausted, and no supplies of money coming from Europe, it becomes immediately necessary to secure to the Company such an income as will bear them clear of charges, and bring in besides a supply for the emergencies of their other settlements, and for providing cargoes for loading home their ships.

THE first question then that naturally occurs is this ;

WHETHER that great force is wanted?

THAT a less force would secure the settlement of Fort William, with its former bounds against any thing that is now in the country, is not to be doubted ;

ed ; but it is as certain, that nothing but that influence and weight, which we maintain by the largeness of our force, can possibly prevent the well known designs of the two principal European powers, who have long shared with us the benefits of the trade of this country ; and to this we may add, that the nearer we approach to a peace in Europe, the nearer we are to our danger here.

THESE considerations having their due weight, we believe few will dispute the necessity of keeping up our present force, perhaps augmenting it. This granted, it follows, that means must be found within ourselves of supporting the expence ; and these means can be no other, than a proportionable share of the revenues of the country. By the treaty made with the present Nabob, he is obliged, as often as it may be requisite for our troops to take the field, to furnish a lack of rupees a month for their expence ; but the uncertainty of this payment has been too long experienced to be any more depended on ; nor indeed, is it by

any means sufficient to answer the purpose, supposing the payments regularly made. It must therefore be proposed to the Nabob, to assign to the Company a much larger income, and to assign it in such a full and ample manner, by giving to the Company the sole right of such districts, as lay most convenient for our management, that we may no longer be subject to the inconveniencies we experienced from the late tuncaws, being orders only on a certain part of the revenues. From the experienced weakness and unsteadiness of the Nabob himself, and the nature of those dependents, who now oppose every encrease of our power, as their own will be proportionably lessened, it is to be supposed, that such a proposal would meet with all the difficulties that could possibly be thrown in our way. Notwithstanding these difficulties, we will suppose, that we should have weight enough to overrule his counsellors, and obtain his consent, we then just keep our present footing; we have a fund for paying our troops, and those troops



troops must be employed in the service of the Nabob ; and this service the same as for these two years past, in opposing the Shahzada, whose designs on these provinces, it is almost certain, will still be pursued.

FROM the experience of these two years it is pretty clear that our troops, tho' victorious in the field, yet cannot by their success put an end to the troubles. The same cause which has prevented it before still exists ; the nature of those people, in alliance with whom we are to act, who will not pursue the advantages we gain ; and we not having the means in our power, for want of a body of cavalry under our command. Thus the war may be protracted for years to come ; and every year the Nabob's circumstances are worse and worse, thro' an increase of expence, and loss of revenues, not only by the devastations which the enemy may make, but by the continual defection of some of his own Rajahs and dependents ; many in the course of the two last years have declared themselves ; and that others are

ripe for doing the same is not to be doubted ; particularly the Rajah of Beerboom, in a letter * the Governor lately received from him, has spoke his sentiments very freely. The province of Patna is already so much reduced by the two campaigns, as to be incapable of affording subsistence to the prince any longer, who must always find on the spot the means of carrying on the war, having no resources within himself ; and who consequently must, thro' necessity, attempt next year to penetrate further into Bengal ; and in this he will no doubt be encouraged, by the success which attended his last year's incursion as far as Burdwan.

It is therefore next to be considered, whether it is best for the interest of the Nabob to pursue the present measures, by continuing to oppose the Shahzada, or to support him in his pretensions to the crown of Delly. The two parties still subsist, between whom the throne is disputed, or rather who shall give a King

* A copy of this letter is subjoined, Page 92.



to that throne. One of those parties * has repeatedly invited the Shahzada to him ; and it is well known what offers he has made, both to the Nabob and us, for our assistance. The same reasons may be supposed yet to have their weight with him, while the dispute remains undecided. And is it not probable, that such an assistance given to the prince, and thrown into Abdallee's scale, would ensure the success of the enterprise ? The immediate consequence of this to Bengal, would be clearing the country of an enemy, by removing the cause, whence all the late troubles and confusion have arose ; and if we, with reason, flatter ourselves we should succeed, what advantages may not the Company expect ?

SUPPOSING this change of measures does not appear to the Nabob in the light we have represented, it is to be considered, whether the exigencies of the Company's affairs before described, do not require our forming such connections

* The Abdallee.

independently of him, as may overrule the advice and sway of his creatures and ministers.

THE unfortunate death of the young Nabob, having created a number of separate interests, which it is impossible to conciliate to the satisfaction of all, and thereby gives the fairest opportunity to any other European power, to gain a party to support them in their designs of establishing an influence here, is an inducement to make us follow such a system, as will put this most out of their power.

THE share of influence we now enjoy in these provinces, however great in appearance, does not carry with it those real advantages, and weighty effects, which are necessary not to leave that power in danger of being disputed, and of failing us at a time when we most want it ; and nothing is more probable, than that That period will happen on a peace. To prevent the evil consequences of this, there seems now to offer such an opportunity of securing to ourselves all
that



that we could wish in this respect, as it is likely may never happen again ; an opportunity that will give us both power and right.

ANOTHER principal motive that urges us to think of changing our system, is the want of money : a want that is not confined to ourselves alone, but upon which greatly depend the operations of the coast ; the reduction of Pondicherry ; and the provision of an investment for loading home the next year's ships at all the three Presidencies.

IT is hardly to be doubted, that the Shahzada would be willing to enter into a negotiation with us independent of the Nabob ; but such a measure would neither be for the interest, nor the honor of our nation : our views in adopting this system, should be directed rather to strengthen, than weaken or overthrow the present Nabob. All we desire is, to see the power removed out of the hands of that sort of men, who now rule and direct his affairs, and through whose mismanagement and frauds, the country and his

his administration suffer so considerably; and to have such a share of power invested in the Company, as will enable them to prevent the bad consequences of so many contending interests; will effectually put a stop to that dissipation of revenues, which has reduced the Nabob to his present distressed condition; which revenue, if properly applied, would leave neither him, nor us, any thing to fear from the designs of any enemy; and effectually secure to us such a fund, as would answer all our present pressing exigencies; and in time, prove an increase of honor and advantage to the Nation, and the Company."

The President lays before the Committee the following Letter, which he lately received from the Rajah of Beerboom.

"**T**HANKS be given to the Almighty at this happy time; I have received your most kind letter, acquainting me of your appointment to the administration of the affairs of the Company,



pany, and your safe arrival in Calcutta. It has filled my heart with a joy too great for expression, and I have offered up my praises to God for it. May the Almighty bestow on you a daily encrease of honor, and incline you to favor your well-wisher. This is the state of my affairs. By the countenance of you, gentlemen, my Zemindarree had begun to put on a flourishing appearance ; but lately, since I have been deprived of that advantage, the magistrate of the country *, who has rebelled against his sovereign, afflicts every man of worth and honor with insults and indignities, from which the strictest obedience is no security.) By the commands of the Lord of the universe, I have put myself in readiness, you are a wise and considerate man. The principles of your religion ordain, that every man should be put in possession of his right ; and by your customs too, the King is entitled to obedience. These considerations added to the long friendship I have had for your country, per-

* The Nabob.

suade me, that you will engage in no cause that shall oppose that of Shah Aalum; since your inclinations and mine are always the same, I hope, from the countenance of your favor, to be always made happy by the news of your welfare, and that you will take care of me.”

Extract of the Proceedings of a Select Committee, held at Calcutta, the 15th of Sept. 1760. Present Mess. Vanfittart, Caillaud, Sumner, Holwell, and M'Gwire.

“THE great objects of our deliberation are, first, the securing a fund of money for the present and future exigencies of this settlement, as well as the other two presidencies, no money being expected from Europe; and, secondly, the putting an end to the disturbances fomented and kept up by the Shahzada in several parts of these provinces, that the whole may be united under the Nabob, and he put under the more immediate influence of the Company, whose force is his chief support
and

and dependance, by this means enabling us to join a large body of country troops to our own, to oppose any attempts of European or country powers.

THE question to be considered is, Whether we can best arrive at these ends by following the present system of opposing the Shahzada, or by proposing to him an alliance with the English, and the assistance of part of our forces to proceed with him to Delly, and support him in his pretensions to the throne.

THE difficulties on both sides having been considered, resolved unanimously, that the entering into an alliance with the Shahzada, is a necessary and expedient measure. The President is accordingly desired to press Cossim Allee Cawn on the subject of our expences, and our great distress for money ; so as to draw from him some proposal of means for removing those difficulties, by which possibly we may be able to form a judgment, whether he might not be brought to join in this negotiation, and in procuring the Nabob's consent."

Extract



Extract of the Proceedings of a Select Committee, held at Calcutta the 16th of Sept. 1760. Present Mes. Vanfittart, Caillaud, Sumner, Holwell, and M'Gwire.

THE President acquaints the Committee, that in a long conversation he had last night with Cossim Allee Cawn, he had an opportunity of making some progress towards the discoveries requisite for carrying on the negociation proposed yesterday ; and that without letting him know any thing of our design, he had led him to make such declarations of his desire to have the rule over the Nabob, and the general management of the affairs of the province, as amount almost to a proof of his readiness to act the part intended for him. After telling him much of our regard, and of our opinion of him, as the fittest person for conducting the great affairs of the Bengal government, I began to make him strong representations on the subject of
the



the Company's expences, that the immediate charges of the army, far exceeded the sum assigned for that purpose *, which sum was not regularly paid, there being now three or four months arrears ; that besides this, he could not but be sensible how much the Company gave up in other parts, for the security of Bengal, withdrawing their forces from the Deccan and Madras, and sending continually fresh supplies from Europe. I represented to him further, the great loss the Company had suffered by the long continuance of the present war with the Shahzada, and how much it was to be wished, that an end could be put to it, so as to enable the Nabob to reduce his expences, and collect his full revenues, of which a great part is now lost by the ravage of the enemy, particularly the whole produce of the Patna province.

* At this period the Company's military and other charges in Bengal amounted, at the lowest calculation, to upwards of 200,000 l. *per annum*, and their nett revenue did not exceed 80,000 l.

IN answer to this Coffim Allee Cawn replied, that he has it not at present in his power to provide in a proper manner for the supply of the Company; that if we could undertake to give him the general management of the country, by taking it out of the hands of those who are now entrusted with it by the Nabob, he would then make such assignments in favor of the Company, as should be perfectly to our satisfaction. At the same time he insinuated, that this would undoubtedly meet with opposition at Moorshedabad, and at first prove very disagreeable to the Nabob himself, for which reason it would be quite necessary to have a force at hand to support him, by which, being enabled to over-rule the present evil counsellors of the Nabob, he could answer for bringing the Nabob himself into such terms as should be agreed on here."

THE season was now begun, when our forces were to take the field against a powerful enemy, whilst we had scarce a rupee in our treasury to enable us to put
them



them in motion. The easy channel, in which the Company's affairs ran, whilst the sums stipulated by the treaty lasted, had diverted their attention from the distresses which must unavoidably fall on them, whenever that fund should be exhausted ; and continuing to act on the same extensive plan in which they set out, they now found themselves surrounded by numberless difficulties, which were heightened by the particular circumstances of the country at this period, and weighed down with the very advantages which they had acquired, that is, an establishment which had lost the foundation on which it was built ; a military force proportioned to their connections and influence in the country, without the means of subsistence ; a fortification begun upon the same extensive plan at a vast expence ; and an alliance with a power unable to support itself, and threatening to involve them in the same ruin.

HAD the Nabob's indolence and weakness been the only faults in his
H 2 charac-

character, destructive as they were to the welfare of the country, and the interest of the Company, I should have felt more severely the necessity I was under of entering into any measures, that might have a tendency to dissolve the engagements between him and the Company; but when I found a general disaffection against his government, and a detestation of his person and principles prevail in the country, amongst all ranks and degrees of people, not only from the effects of the extortions and oppressions of his ministers, but from the many murders with which his short administration had been sullied, especially the horrid massacre perpetrated by his order at Dacca, and at this time recent in every mind; I confess, I had the less reluctance to join in such measures; since, if the Nabob's jealousy or distrust of us should so far prevail, as to make him rather part with his government, than put into our hands the means of remedying the disorders which had been introduced into it, the consequence would
prove



prove rather a general good, than a subject of reproach.

SUCH being the situation of affairs when the scene of action began to open, there was no time to be lost. The offers made by Meer Cossim, independently of the benefits which would accrue to the Company from them, presented to us the only means of evading the dangers, which threatened the very existence of the Company, of removing the war from the country, and remedying the disorders of the government. The Committee, therefore, after many conferences with Meer Cossim, unanimously agreed upon a treaty with him, which was executed the 27th of September, and was as follows :

*Copy of the Treaty concluded between Mr. Vanfittart, the Gentlemen * of the Select Committee, and the Nabob Meer Mahomed Cossim Allee Cawn.*

“ **F**IRST, The Nabob Meer Mahomed Jaffier Cawn shall continue in the possession of his dignities, and all
H 3 affairs

* Mes. Caillaud, Sumner, Holwell, and M^cGwire.



affairs be transacted in his name, and a suitable income shall be allowed for his expences.

SECOND, The * Neabut of the Soubadarree of Bengal, Azimabad, and Orrissa, &c, shall be conferred by his Excellency the Nabob on Meer Mahomed Cossim Cawn. He shall be vested with the administration of all the affairs of the provinces, and after his Excellency he shall succeed to the government.

THIRD, Betwixt us and Meer Mahomed Cossim Cawn, a firm friendship and union is established. His enemies are our enemies, and his friends are our friends.

FOURTH, The Europeans and seepoys of the English army shall be ready to assist the Nabob Meer Mahomed Cossim Cawn in the management of all affairs, and in all affairs dependent on him, they shall exert themselves to the utmost of their abilities.

FIFTH, For all charges of the Company, and of the said army, and provi-

* Deputy government.

sions

sions for the field, &c. the lands of Burdwan, Midnapoor, and Chittagong, shall be assigned, and funnuds for that purpose shall be written and granted. The Company is to stand to all losses, and receive all the profits of these three countries; and we will demand no more than the three assignments aforesaid.

SIXTH, One half of the Chunam produced at Silhet for three years, shall be purchased by the Gomastahs of the Company, from the people of the government, at the customary rate of that place. The tenants and inhabitants of that place shall receive no injury.

SEVENTH, The balance of the former tuncaws shall be paid according to the Kistbundee agreed upon with the Royroyan. The jewels, which have been pledged, shall be received back again.

EIGHTH, We will not allow the tenants of the Sircar to settle in the lands of the English Company. Neither shall the tenants of the Company be allowed to settle in the lands of the Sircar.

NINTH, We will give no protection to the dependants of the Sircar, in the lands or factories of the Company, neither shall any protection be given to the dependants of the Company, in the lands of the Sircar; and whoever shall fly to either party for refuge shall be given up.

TENTH, The measures for war or peace with the Shahzada, and raising supplies of money, and the concluding both these points, shall be weighed in the scale of reason, and whatever is judged expedient shall be put in execution; and it shall be so contrived by our joint counsels, that he be removed from this country, nor suffered to get any footing in it. Whether there be peace with the Shahzada or not, our agreement with Meer Mahomed Cossim Cawn, we will, by the grace of God, inviolably observe, as long as the English Company's factories continue in the country.

Dated the 27th of September, 1760,
in the year of the Hegira, 1174."



SECTION IV.

Mr. Vanfittart's Journey to Moorsheda-
bad, in consequence of the Resolutions
of the Select Committee, with his
Proceedings there, till the Resignation
of Meer Jaffier, and the Promotion of
Meer Cossim to the Subahship.

Select Committee's *Instructions to Mr.*
Vanfittart, and Colonel Caillaud.—Letter
from Mr. Vanfittart to the Select
Committee, containing an Account of
his first Interview with the Nabob.—
Reasons for making Use of Force against
Meer Jaffier.—Letter from Mr. Van-
fittart, and Colonel Caillaud, contain-
ing an Account of their Proceedings, the
Resignation of Meer Jaffier, and Pro-
motion of Meer-Cossim.—Two Letters
from Mr. Vanfittart to Mr. Ellis.—
Two Letters from Mr. Vanfittart and
Colonel Caillaud to the Select Commit-
tee.—Letter from the Select Commit-
tee to Mr. Vanfittart, and Colonel Cail-
laud, approving of their Proceedings.—
Two



Two Letters from Mr. Ellis to Mr. Vanfittart.—Mr. Vanfittart returns to Calcutta, and reports his Proceedings to the Council.—Mef. Verelst and Smythe object to the Proceedings.—Mr. Vanfittart's Reply to their Objections.—Mr. Vanfittart's Memorial concerning the Revolution.

MEEER COSSIM set out for Moorshedabad, a day or two after the execution of the treaty; and the Committee having desired me and Colonel Caillaud to follow him, as being the most likely way of bringing the Nabob into our measures. We accordingly set out the 2d of October, having received from the Select Committee our instructions, as follows:

Copy of the Select Committee's Instructions to Mr. Vanfittart and Colonel Caillaud.

“ **A**S some days have already elapsed since the President, at the desire of the Committee, wrote to Mr. Amyatt of the intend-



intended negotiation with the Shahzada; and as one copy of Roydoolub's letter to the prince has been forwarded by his own people, we may expect, that within fifteen or twenty days from this time, something of it will transpire, and the report spread to Moorshedabad. It is not to be doubted, but that the Nabob will be extremely alarmed at the first news of it, and that those who now rule him, will use their influence to encrease his fears and suspicions, and to make him as averse as possible to acquiesce in the measures we propose to adopt, and to which Cossim Allee Cawn has acceded. It will be necessary to have persons commissioned with full powers from hence, and that they be such, as will have weight enough on the one . part to keep Cossim Allee Cawn firm to the agreements he has entered into ; and, on the other, to support him so strongly, as to enable him to over-rule the Nabob, and all his present advisers.

THIS entire confidence we place in you, empowering you to act according to
to

to your own discretion in all circumstances that may occur ; and the better to enable you to accomplish our intentions, and prevent any disturbance, we have thought proper to make a detachment of two compleat companies of military, a Company of artillery, with four pieces of cannon, and captain Tabby's battalion of seepoys, who are to act under your orders. This detachment is represented to the Nabob, as designed to reinforce the army at Patna, but it is not our intention that they shall proceed further than Coffimbuzar, unless the approach of the Beerboom, or other disaffected Rajahs or Zemindars, should make it necessary to send them out to oppose them.

IF the affairs of Patna should not absolutely require the Colonel's immediately proceeding there, we would have him remain at Moorshedabad, till this affair shall be settled there, and the government put under the regulation proposed ; in which case you will please to forward to Mr. Amyatt, the general instructions
of



of the 24th and 25th, directed to him and the Colonel, with orders to captain Knox to co-operate with the chief of Patna, in the execution of the said instructions. When the Colonel proceeds to Patna, major Yorke will remain with the command of the detachment, and will follow the orders of the Governor for his further proceedings.

You will be continually advised of the news we may receive, and of any alteration that may happen here, in order that you may take the necessary measures for sending back the detachment, in case any danger from abroad should threaten the settlement."

WE reached Cossimbuzar the 14th of October, and the next morning the Nabob paid me a visit, during which I represented to him the necessity of his taking some vigorous and immediate measures, for removing the dangers which threatened the provinces under his government on every side; offering my hearty assistance, of which at the same time he seemed to be willing to accept; so



so that I had great hopes he would have consented to our proposals, and it was in that mind I wrote the Committee the following letter.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Vansittart to the Select Committee. Dated Cossimbuzar, October 15, 1760.

“ I CAME here by easy stages, in order to give time for Cossim Allee Cawn, as well as the detachment, to arrive before me. Yesterday evening I reached this place, and this morning the Nabob did me the honor of a visit. After the first ceremonies, he desired a private conversation, which he opened, by representing the dangerous situation of affairs at Patna, and desired the Colonel might be sent back with all possible expedition. This gave me the opportunity of picturing to him the general weak condition of his government, occasioned not so much by the want of means in the country, as by the abuse and evil administration of those to whom he had entrusted the management; that the Colonel’s



lonel's going to Patna, without a large sum of money, would be of no use; and that it is not by temporary remittances of forty or fifty thousand rupees, that the present confusion can be remedied, or his affairs carried on in future, but by some general regulation, which may give more confidence to his officers and troops. I described every thing in the worst light I could, hoping, that by magnifying his difficulties, I might bring him more easily to consent to those measures, which we have resolved on. This seemed to operate in the manner I could wish; he said more than once, that he would gladly follow any advice I should propose to him, desired that I would consider the matter fully between this and to-morrow evening, and promised on his part to do the same, and that he would then meet me at Muradbaug, and come to such determination as I shall approve. Upon the whole, I have great hopes I shall be able to obtain the proposed advantages for the Company. Obtain them indeed, I will at all events, but I hope, and much wish,



wish, to get it done without exerting any force.

P. S. INCLOSED is a letter from Mr. Amyatt. Troubles must be expected at Patna, until means are found of paying some money to the Nabob's troops. The Nabob's not writing himself after repeatedly pressing us to do it was very extraordinary ; however, I am not sorry at this time to have so striking an instance to urge of the weakness and unsteadiness of his present government."

The following is an Extract of Mr. Amyatt's Letter here mentioned. Patna, October 4, 1760.

GENTLEMEN,

" **T**HE Nabob has not wrote to Rajebullub, and by what Mr. Sykes writes to me, he will not till he has seen Colonel Caillaud ; but notwithstanding this, Rajebullub is very willing and glad to go to Moorshedabad, and wanted to set out immediately ; the army hearing this, surrounded his house, abused, and used him

him ill, seized upon his boats, and for these three days past, there has been such a scene of confusion, I cannot express it; the seepoys are no ways under their commanders, and do almost what they please; and this scene is likely to continue, and probably may end in Rajebul-lub's being cut off, or some disaster upon the city; nothing but the fear of our army prevents it, for a trifle will stir them up to rashness; however, they have obliged him to swear he will not go, till money or Cossim Allee Cawn comes; indeed, they will not let him go, and use him most excessively ill."

BUT these hopes were soon lost. From the 15th to the 20th, I tried every means to bring the Nabob to reason; but I found his jealousy and indolence immovable, so that my only choice was to make use of forcible measures, and act upon the Nabob's fears, or else to return with disgrace to Calcutta, after having just done enough to create a breach between the Nabob and the English; Meer Cossim would have been left a sacrifice to the

Nabob's resentment, for the engagements he had entered into with us ; the Nabob himself would have fallen under the weight of the disorders of his government, and the licentiousness of his unpaid troops ; the English army at Patna would have been ruined for want of their pay ; and the provinces, in all probability, have become an easy conquest to the Shahzada ; or what was yet worse, have been ravaged by his followers, and the disaffected Zemindars : I need not add, that the Company must have been involved in this general ruin. These were the weighty considerations which fixed my resolution ; and I thought I could not do otherwise, than try the effect of the force I had in my hands. The success of this resolution was immediately reported to the Select Committee, in a letter from myself and Colonel Caillaud, dated the 21st of October ; and as all the circumstances of the transaction are there plainly and fully related, I here insert a copy, as the most faithful account that can be given of it.

Copy



Copy of a Letter from Mr. Vanfittart and Colonel Caillaud to the Select Committee. Dated Muradbaug, October 21, 1760.

GENTLEMEN,

“ **T**HE Governor wrote you yesterday of the affairs here being settled to the Company’s advantage. We shall now have the honor to acquaint you of the steps by which we advanced to this point of success.

THE Nabob’s visit to the Governor at Cossimbuzar, the 15th of the month, as well as that we paid him the next day in return, passed only in general conversation. The 18th, he came here to talk upon business. In order to give him a clear view of the bad management of his ministers, by which his own affairs, as well as the Company’s, were reduced to so dangerous a state, and the inhabitants in general to want and misery, we had prepared three letters, which, after a short and friendly introduction, the Governor delivered to him; and of which



translations are hereunto annexed, under No. I, II, and III *

THE Nabob seemed much affected by the perusal of the letters, but endeavored more to put an end to the conference, than to propose a remedy to the evils. We, however, prevailed on him to send for his dinner to Muradbaug; and, in a manner, insisted on his coming to some determination, for the immediate reform of his government; at length he confessed himself, through age and grief, incapable alone of struggling against so many difficulties, and desired he might have time to consult with his friends.

WE told him, the men with whom he had lately advised were not his friends, but his greatest enemies; that his returning again in the midst of them, would only be the means of augmenting his difficulties; that he had much better take the assistance of one from among his relations, on whose attachment and fidelity he might more safely rely. He named five or six, and among them Cofsim Allee Cawn; we asked him, which
of

* See page 125, &c.



of that number was most fit to assist him in his present exigencies? He replied, without any hesitation, that Cossim Allee Cawn was the most proper; nevertheless, it was with the utmost difficulty we could prevail on him to send for him, and so very late, that before Cossim Allee Cawn could arrive, the old Nabob was so extremely fatigued, and in such a state of anxiety, that we could not refuse his return home to take his rest; we were convinced, that it would be to no purpose to keep him, for such was the jealousy he discovered, with regard to Cossim Allee Cawn, that we saw he never would consent, without some sort of force, to give the other the means for restoring order to his affairs; an hour or two after the Nabob's departure, Cossim Allee Cawn arrived, and seemed to be extremely apprehensive, that the Nabob, instead of trusting him with the management of his affairs, would endeavor by some means or other to get rid of him. We agreed, therefore, in opinion with him, that he should not go to



the Nabob's house, until measures were taken for his security. We resolved, however, to give the Nabob the next day (the 19th) to reflect upon the letters before-mentioned, in hopes, that he would propose some means of regulation. We heard nothing from him all day, but found, by our intelligence, that he had been in council with his old advisers Koonram, Monelol, and Checon, whose advice we were sure would be contrary to the welfare of the country in general, and that of the Company in particular. We determined, therefore, to act immediately upon the Nabob's fears; there could not be a better opportunity, than the night of the 19th afforded, it being the conclusion of the Gentoo feast, when all the principal people of that cast, would be pretty well fatigued with their ceremonies. We determined, therefore, that Colonel Caillaud, with two companies of military, and six companies of seepoys, should cross the river between three and four in the morning; and having joined Cossim Allee Cawn and his people, march
to



to the Nabob's palace, and surround it just at day break. Being extremely desirous to prevent any disturbance or bloodshed, the Governor wrote a letter to the Nabob *, and delivered it to the Colonel to send into him, at such time as he should think most expedient. Measures were at the same time taken for seizing the persons of Koonram, Mone-lol, and Checon, our intention being only to remove those three unworthy ministers, and place Coffim Allee Cawn in the full management of all the affairs, in quality of deputy and successor to the Nabob. The governor remained at Muradbaug, in readiness to pay a visit of congratulation to the Durbar, as soon as the point should be settled.

THE necessary preparations being accordingly made, with all the care and secrecy imaginable, the Colonel embarked with the troops, joined Coffim Allee Cawn without the least alarm, and marched into the court-yard of the palace just at the proper instant. The gates of the

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inner

* The translation of which is annexed, No. IV.



inner court being shut, the Colonel formed his men without, and sent the Governor's letter to the Nabob, who was at first in a great rage, and long threatened he would make what resistance he could, and take his fate. The Colonel forbore all hostilities, and several messages past by the means of Mr. Hastings, and Mr. Lushington, whose services, on this occasion, deserve notice. The affair remained in this doubtful state about two hours, when the Nabob, finding his persisting was to no purpose, sent a message to Cossim Allee Cawn, informing him, he was ready to send him the seals, and all the ensigns of dignity, and to order the Nobit to be struck up in his name, provided he would agree to take the whole charge of the government upon him, to discharge all the arrears due to the troops, to pay the usual revenues to the King, to save his life and honor, and to give him an allowance sufficient for his maintenance. All these conditions being agreed to, Cossim Allee Cawn was proclaimed, and the old Nabob

Nabob came out to the Colonel, declaring, that he depended on him for his life ; and the troops then took possession of all the gates, and notice was sent to the Governor, who came immediately ; and the old Nabob met him in the gate-way, asking, if his person was safe, which seemed now to be all his concern. The Governor told him, not only his person was safe, but his government too, if he pleased, of which it never was intended to deprive him. The Nabob answered, that he had no more business at the city, that he should be in continual danger from Coffim Allee Cawn, and that if he was permitted to go and live in Calcutta, he should be extremely happy and contented ; though we could not help lamenting his sudden fall, we were not sorry for this proposal, as the affairs will doubtless be better managed without him, and the advantages, stipulated for the Company, be obtained without the least difficulty or delay. Coffim Allee Cawn was accordingly seated on the musnud, and we paid him our congratulations





lations in the usual form. All the Zemindars, merchants, and others, residing in the city, came immediately, and made their acknowledgments to the new Subah; and in the evening, every thing was as perfectly quiet, as if there had been no change. The people, in general, seem much pleased with this revolution; and we are particularly happy in its having been brought about without the least disturbance in the town, or a drop of blood spilt.

THE advantages to the Company are great indeed.

THE perwannahs of the countries of Burdwan, Midnapoor, and Chittagong, we shall receive immediately, as well as that for half of the Chunam produced at Silhet. A very severe order has already been issued, forbidding all the shroffs and merchants to refuse the Calcutta ficcas, or to ask any batta on them. A supply of money will be sent with the Colonel, for the payment of the troops at Patna; and we have some hopes of obtaining a present of three or four lacks besides,



besides, to send down to Calcutta, to help out the Company in their present occasions here, .and at Madras. The former balance is to be paid monthly, according to the old Nabob's kistbundy.

WE are the more pleased with this fortunate event at this time, when the approach of peace in Europe, gives us reason to fear the other European nations will find leisure to disturb us here. We shall have now strong resources within ourselves, and an ally, whose attachment to the Company may be depended on. The old Nabob could, by no means, be relied on for such an occasion. Both his means, and desire of supporting us, were very uncertain, as his behaviour in the Dutch troubles evinced.

THE old Nabob did not think himself safe, even for one night, in the city. Cossim Allee Cawn supplied him with boats, and gave him leave to take away as many of his women as he desired, and a reasonable quantity of cloaths and jewels. We furnished him with a strong escort of Europeans and seepoys, and intended



intended to lodge him at Heerageel ; but he would not trust himself there, and begged he might sleep in his boats close to Muradbaug, which he did accordingly. We shall take care that Cossim Allee Cawn provides every thing that is convenient and handsome, for himself and his women, and settles upon him a sufficient allowance for his maintenance ; and then dispatch him with a strong escort to Calcutta. You will please to provide two houses for his reception ; there are two belonging to Sobiram Byfauc, and Raufbery Seet, which the Royroyan occupied when he was at Calcutta ; if these can be got, we judge they will answer very well.

HIS legitimate wife, called the Begum, the mother of the deceased Chuta Nabob, and of Cossim Allee Cawn's wife, refused to accompany the old Nabob, with whom, she says, she has not been in good harmony for a long time past ; that she is very glad the government is put into such good hands, and that she shall

shall live much happier with her daughter and son-in-law.

THE old Nabob is now pretty easy, and seems to be reconciled to the loss of a power, which he owns to have been rather a burthen than a pleasure, and too much for his abilities to manage, since the death of his son ; and the enjoyment of the rest of his days in security, under the English protection, seems to be the chief object of his wishes."

No. I. * *Translation of an Address, presented to the Nabob Jaffier Allee Cawn by the Governor. Dated October 12, 1760.*

" **W**HEN I was at Madras, Colonel Clive frequently wrote to me upon the state of the affairs of this country ; and told me, whenever he quitted this country to return to Europe, he would procure my appointment to the govern-

* These letters, as well as many other of the letters to the country government, inserted in this Narrative, were written first in Persian, as well for the sake of dispatch, as that they might appear more



government. The friendship and connections between your Excellency and the Colonel are well known to me ; and I hoped to have found all affairs carried on entirely according to the treaty ; but what I observed upon my arrival, I shall now lay before you particularly.

FIRST, The English forces, who are employed in your service, and in the support of your government at Patna, are kept without their pay.

SECONDLY, The forces of the government, who are stationed in those parts, are discontented and disaffected to the service for want of their pay.

THIRDLY, The seepoys of Moorshedabad had surrounded your palace in a tumultuous manner for the arrears of

more natural and intelligible to the person to whom they were addressed ; for in writing first in English, and then rendering it into Persian, it is almost impossible to avoid obscurity. Just so in translating the Persian into English, you cannot help conveying somewhat of the eastern form and manner along with the meaning, and this occasions the particularity which will be observed in the stile of many of these letters.

their



their pay, and endangered your life; how deeply I was affected cannot be expressed; God is witness what I felt on that occasion.

FOURTHLY, I plainly perceived, that the ministers of this court, from their covetous and base dispositions, had set aside all justice, were plundering the poor without cause, and doing what they pleased; not even withholding their hands from the lives of the people, destroying the subjects, and bringing ruin and desolation on the country.

FIFTHLY, The scarcity of provisions, &c. is so great, as was never before known in this country; inasmuch, that the people of all degrees are in the greatest distress. This can be owing to no other cause, but the bad management of your ministers.

SIXTHLY, Formerly, at the desire of the English Company, a mint was established in Calcutta; and it was your order, that the ficas of Calcutta, of the same weight and fineness as the ficas of Moorshedabad, should pass for equal value.

value. Notwithstanding your perwannah for inforcing this grant, the officers of the provinces have not suffered them to pass ; but, contrary to your order, require and insist on a batta on the ficcas.

SEVENTHLY, The war with the Shahzada still continues, notwithstanding the sums expended, and the endeavors of the English forces. This affair is yet no nearer a conclusion than the first day, excepting the fort of Patna, no part of the Bahar province remains in your possession. All the lands and villages are in a state of ruin, and the Zemindars, in every place, are ready to join the Shahzada's army, as appears from the letter to me to this purpose from Beerboom. From these circumstances, it evidently appears to me, that all these difficulties came to pass after the death of your son, the late Chuta Nabob ; from which time the ministers of your government, regarding only their own interest, neglect the good of the country, and the welfare of your subjects, and employ themselves in oppressing the poor, in rapine, violence,

violence, injustice, and iniquity. When I saw the affairs of the Sircar in the hands of such faithless and unworthy men, and every thing tending still further to ruin, I lifted up my hands to heaven, and bewailed my strange fate, that Providence should send me into this country, at such a time, and in the midst of such calamities, when the dignity of the Nabob, the reputation of the Company, and the prosperity of the country, are almost expired. After long consideration I concluded, that I would make one vigorous trial immediately, to remedy all these evils, hoping, by God's assistance, to surmount all difficulties. For this reason, I am come with great joy into your presence, and am happy in paying you my respects."



No. II. *Translation of an Address, presented to the Nabob Jaffier Allee Cawn by the Governor. Dated October 18, 1760.*

“ **T**HE ministers who are about your person, and who transact your business, are people who are wavering and changing in their councils, as is evident from the perwannahs you frequently sent me, complaining of the bad conduct and wicked intentions of Mharajah Rajebullub, insisting upon his being recalled by some means or other. The Colonel, considering the situation of affairs at that time, recommended Rajebullub to you; and you sent me a copy of his recommendation, in a letter which you did me the honor to write to me; and said, you was surprized that the Colonel would recommend a man, so very unfit for every business. You also sent me word by the Nabob Meer Mahomed Cossim Cawn, and the Royroyan, that the business of the most consequence, was to get Rajebullub down from Patna.



Patna. I, therefore, agreeably to your desire, wrote Mr. Amyatt to send him down ; God only knows what council your ministers gave, that your perwannah* was deferred being sent, but that is the true cause of the troubles now at Patna. It is a known maxim, that a government, where the councils change every day, cannot be well regulated.”

No. III. *Translation of a Letter, presented to the Nabob Jaffier Allee Cawn by the Governor. Dated October 18, 1760.*

“ **T**HE important affairs, for the regulation of which I have waited upon you, are submitted to your consideration in a separate address, containing seven articles. Now that I am here, this is the time for opening the door of the difficulties therein mentioned, which is only to be effected by the key of your enlightened wisdom. If this opportunity is lost, another will hardly occur, when we can meet together so conveniently.

* An order for his coming down.

niently. Besides, the particulars which I have taken notice of, and the payment of the arrears due to the English troops, and those of the fircar, it is necessary to make a large provision for future exigencies. You have already given in pledge jewels, for a large amount, to be discharged by different payments, agreed and signed too by you. How this sum is to be paid, unless the country is settled, I do not perceive. The pay, allowed for the English army, has been limited to a lack of rupees *per* month. As the disturbances in the country have encreased every day, for that reason large sums have been expended in bringing soldiers from Europe and Madras, and raising seepoys. On this account, a lack of rupees is by no means sufficient. Let your Excellency duely reflect, that your own seepoys, in time of extremity, preferring their own safety, have frequently joined with the forces of the enemy, and the English forces devoted entirely to your service, and the destruction of your enemies, never were guilty of such
a con-

a conduct, nor ever will ; and by the blessing of God, wherever the English standard has been fixed, they have ever proved victorious. Upon this account, it is by no means becoming your wisdom, to neglect such brave men, or to deny them their due rewards. It is necessary, that for this business, your Excellency grant the English Company certain lands, sufficient for the pay of the troops, the expences of the artillery, and the provision of stores, &c. that without any trouble to yourself, all their charges may be defrayed, from the produce of these lands, and our arms always ready to be employed in your service ; otherwise, I must submit to necessity. My concern for my own honor, will not suffer me to be unmoved at the Company's loss ; but I must seek some expedients for promoting the interest of the Company, and removing the evils they are oppressed with ; and those expedients must be adopted. But if your affliction, for the loss of your son, has taken that hold upon your mind, that





you cannot attend to the remedying of such great difficulties, it is proper, that you appoint some capable person from among your children, in the place and dignity of your said son, the Nabob Nazir-ool-moolk, who may take charge of all these affairs, regulate the business of the country, and remove all these difficulties, that your Excellency, freed from all the troubles and fatigues of these transactions, may remain without care and uneasiness, and the shadow of your protection overspread the whole.

No. IV. *Translation of a Letter from the Governor to the Nabob. Dated October 19, at Night, and sent by the Hands of Colonel Caillaud.*

“ I HAVE been waiting all this day, in expectation that you would have settled some of the weighty and urgent affairs, upon which I yesterday conferred with you ; and that you would have acquainted me with your determination ; but you have not favoured me with any answer concerning them. From hence
it

it plainly appears, that as long as these evil counsellors remain about your person, whatsoever I may represent to you for your prosperity and welfare, and the good of the country, will have no effect. The folly of those people will soon deprive you of your government, and prove the ruin likewise of the Company's affairs. I have judged it improper, that such evils and disgrace should be brought upon us for the sake of two or three men ; for this reason, I have sent colonel Caillaud with forces to wait upon you. When the said Colonel arrives, he will expel those bad counsellors, and place your affairs in a proper state ; I will shortly follow. Let not your Excellency be under any apprehensions, but cheerfully receive the colonel ; and give orders to your men, that they commit no disturbances, nor raise tumults in the city ; I solemnly declare, that I have no other view but your good and welfare. Look upon me as your sincere well-wisher, and remain satisfied."

THE old Nabob set out for Calcutta the 22d, with all the appearances of content and chearfulness ; and I remained at Moorshedabad with the new Nabob till the 4th of November. All the material transactions which passed during that time, will be seen by the following papers.

*Extract of a Letter from Mr. Vansittart to Mr. Ellis *. Muradbaug, Oct. 22, 1760.*

“ THE old Nabob set out this morning for Calcutta, escorted by a company of Europeans, and one of seepoys, under the command of captain Robertson. I mentioned in my letter last night, that he would be glad to remain at Chitpour, until the houses are prepared for his reception. You will please to send two of the gentlemen to meet him at the French gardens, and in every way receive him with a decent respect. He took his leave with great
chear-

* Mr. Ellis, arriving from Europe, took charge of the settlement at Calcutta, in Mr. Vansittart's absence.

cheerfulness ; and I believe the days of his ease will do him more honor, than those of his power ; and that he will be much happier ; for it shall be my particular care that he wants for nothing ; every thing is perfectly quiet here ; I am waiting to get the funnuds, to see how the young Nabob goes on ; and to give him a few useful instructions for his guidance. In four or five days I hope every thing will be complete ; and that I shall be setting out for Calcutta with a reinforcement for your treasury ; such as will enable us to send a supply to Madras, and to keep our investment jogging on here.”

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Vanfittart to Mr. Ellis. Muradbaug, October 23, 1760.

“ **E**VERY thing remains perfectly quiet, and the new Nabob does not spare pains to get the affairs regulated. He will have no easy task of it. The balance due to the seepoys is immense. Money found in the treasury, none,



none, only gold and silver plate, to the amount of two or three lacks, which is ordered to be coined : and the old Nabob's Muttasceddees pretend, that the balance due from them is trifling ; that the Nabob spent every thing as fast as it came in, but they do not know how. It was high time for a reform, indeed ; I do not think it would have been possible for the old Nabob to have saved himself from being murdered, or the city from plunder, another month. I have engaged Juggut Seet's advice and assistance ; and will see the Colonel dispatched with a supply of money to Patna ; and all other affairs reduced to a system of prudence and œconomy, before I stir from hence."

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Vansittart and Colonel Caillaud to the Select Committee. Muradbaug, Oct. 24, 1760.

“ **E**VERY thing remains perfectly quiet, the new Nabob applies with great diligence to the regulation of his affairs, and behaves so as to gain the affection



affection of the people. We went yesterday to the Durbar, when he acquainted us, that he had found in the treasury, of ready money, only forty or fifty thousand rupees, and about the value of three lacks in gold and silver plate, which he has ordered to be coined. Keenooram, Moneloll, and Checon, the principal managers in the late administration, pretend likewise, that the balances due from them are trifling. The Nabob, however, hopes to oblige them to make further discoveries ; and, in the mean time, is endeavoring, with the assistance of Juggut Seet, together with the usual presents, advances upon the rents, &c. to raise a sufficient sum to pay off such a proportion of the arrears, as will satisfy the troops at Patna, and here, as well as to enable him to give the Company such an assistance, as is mentioned in our last letter, by way of acknowledgment for their services. The funnuds, for the new districts, will be made out upon the arrival of the Royroyan,



royan, who is expected from Amboia in three or four days.”

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Vanfittart and Colonel Caillaud to the Select Committee. Muradbaug, Nov. 3, 1760.

“**T**HE difficulties the Nabob has met with, in raising the sums wanted for the supply of troops here, and at Patna, have been the occasion of his deferring the Colonel’s dispatch till to-morrow evening. He will carry with him, in bills and money, seven lacks of rupees, of which two are for the English army, and five for the Nabob’s.

THE Nabob having given the Company perwannahs for the districts of Burdwan, Midnapoor, and Chittagong, from the 10th of October, the allowance of one lack *per* month, stipulated to be paid by the Nabob, for the expences of the army in the field, must be reckoned from the 1st of December, 1759, to the 30th of September, 1760, being ten months, or ten lacks of rupees, of which nine lacks and a half have



have been paid, including the two lacks before-mentioned; the remaining half lack the Nabob will remit to the Colonel.

THIS done, all the future demands of the army must be supplied by the Company. We have engaged Juggut Seet, to take all opportunities that may offer, of advancing money at Patna, to receive it again at Calcutta, for a premium of two *per cent*.

THE Colonel will do all he possibly can, consistently with the good of the service, to make the expences of the army light. Indeed, it is not only with this view, but for many other urgent considerations, much to be wished, that an end could be put to the war with the Shahzada. We might almost say, that it is absolutely necessary, for the pay of the troops in the armies of the Chuta Nabob, and of Ramnarain, amount to so immense a sum monthly, that the revenues of the three provinces, would scarce be sufficient fully to answer it. Notwithstanding, the sum now sent by the Nabob, and all the further supplies he

he may be able to furnish, the arrears can never be paid off, but, on the contrary, must continue growing.

FOR a disorder so desperate, what remedy is to be found? The most we can hope, is, to palliate and prevent it's increase, and endeavor, in the mean time, to bring our business to a conclusion. The Colonel, upon his arrival at Patna, will immediately take the field, and seek the Shahzada, to oblige him either to come to terms of accommodation, or venture a battle. With regard to the reduction of the Nabob's troops, the Colonel will take such measures upon his arrival, as he shall judge most eligible."

MR. ELLIS not arriving from England till after the Committee had taken their resolutions, and I was set out for Cossimbuzar, could not be consulted in the course of this negotiation. By the station in which he was appointed by the Company, he presided at Calcutta during my absence.



MAJOR CARNAC arrived at the same time with Mr. Ellis, and joined me at Muradbaug the 20th in the morning, at the very instant that Colonel Caillaud was at the head of his troops, in one of the court yards of the Nabob's palace. I desired the Major to go there too, and use his-end endeavors jointly with the Colonel to prevent any disturbances in the city. I followed immediately after, and when all was settled with the old Nabob, major Carnac desired to stay with the detachment at Moorshedabad, for the security of Meer Cossim, who was just then proclaimed ; but I settled it, that major Yorke should stay at Moorshedabad, and major Carnac proceed with the Colonel to Patna, to receive the command of the troops from him, as the Governor and Council at Madras had wrote for him, to return and join the army before Pondicherry.

MAJOR CARNAC remained with me at Muradbaug, till I set out from thence for Calcutta ; during which time he was fully acquainted with the motives of
the

the Select Committee's resolutions, and my proceedings ; and I do not recollect that he made the least objection * to either, further, than that he was sorry there was a necessity of removing Meer Jaffier from the government. To which I replied, that I was equally sorry ; but that it could not be avoided without exposing his life, the provinces under his government, and the very existence of the Company to almost certain ruin.

MR. ELLIS, and the gentlemen of the Select Committee at Calcutta, expressed their approbation in the following answers to our letters.

Copy of a Letter from the Select Committee (Messieurs Ellis, Sumner, and M'Guire) to Mr. Vanfittart and Colonel Caillaud. Dated October 24, 1760.

“ **W**E have been honored with your favor of the 21st, and one from the President of the 20th instant, by which we have been informed of the great

* The contrary may be inferred, from his desiring to stay with Meer Cossim.



great success that has attended your operations. We most heartily congratulate you, on your having amply effected the intended purposes, without the effusion of blood, or any disturbance ; and are highly pleased to find the Nabob so well reconciled to his present situation. We doubt not, but what has been so well begun, will be concluded for the benefit and advantage of the Company, and that the affairs of the government will in future be put on a secure and proper footing.

WE have given the necessary directions for the reception and accommodation of the old Nabob, whenever he arrives in Calcutta.

A FEW days, we flatter ourselves, will bring this matter to a conclusion, and that we shall very shortly have the pleasure of the Governor's presence with us."

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Ellis to Mr. Vanfittart, October 24, 1760.

" I HAD the honor to address you last night, and this evening was favored with yours, of the 21st instant,
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inclosing a letter to the Committee. most heartily congratulate you on the success of your negotiations ; but must, at the same time, lament the necessity you have been under of deposing the old Nabob. Directions are given, to prepare the two houses, you mentioned, for his reception ; and in case he should arrive before they are put in proper order, Mr. Sumner will accommodate him for a day or two at Chitpore.”

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Ellis to Mr. Vanfittart. October 25, 1760.

“ **I**T is with much pleasure I hear of the tranquility that reigns in the city, such a revolution, with so little disturbance, scarce ever happened ; and, I dare say, Sir, there will be nothing wanting, on your part, to place this tranquility on a lasting and solid foundation.” *

I ARRIVED

* The reader will here take notice, that Mr. Ellis was the principal person who afterwards engaged in the opposition against me, and in every measure for over-setting the establishment, of which he has here expressed in such strong terms his approbation.

I ARRIVED in Calcutta the 7th of November ; and the next day reported my proceedings in general, and the advantages obtained for the Company, to the whole council; whereupon Messieurs Verelst and Smyth, two of the gentlemen of the council, who were not members of the Select Committee, entered the following objection.

Copy of Mr. Verelst's Minute of the 8th of November, to which Mr. Smyth assented.

“ **M**R. Verelst begs leave to observe, that the board has till now been kept entirely ignorant of the proceedings of the Select Committee, relating to the present revolution, and their motives for it ; he cannot, therefore, pretend to judge how far such a step was necessary, but thinks, that in an affair of such immediate consequence to the Company's estate in these parts, the most mature consideration of the whole board

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should



should have been first had ; that a treaty, executed in the most solemn manner, subsisted between Meer Jaffier and us ; the most faithful adherence to which, as well as all other our engagements, has preserved that influence and power we have maintained, ever since the recapture of Calcutta ; a steadiness to which treaty made Britons admired, nay even courted, by every prince throughout these provinces ; and has ever been fatal to the prince apparent of the empire, and many other disturbers, who have hitherto weakly endeavored to engage us, to break through those solemn ties we were sworn to. As this sudden change must alarm every one, to find us so unexpectedly breaking through all our engagements, which were so publick, reputable, and to the honor of the nation, he cannot be blamed, as a member of the board, for expressing his dissatisfaction at being made a cypher of, in so critical a concern."

REGARDING these objections, as chiefly proceeding from the offence which those



those gentlemen had conceived, at not being consulted upon the measures taken by the Select Committee, I only made the following Reply.

Copy of Mr. Vanfittart's Reply to the foregoing Minute.

“**T**HE President begs leave to remark upon the foregoing minute. That though Mr. Verelst and Mr. Smyth might without the least presumption think, that they, and the rest of the gentlemen of the council, ought to have been consulted upon an affair of so much importance, before it was carried into execution ; yet their venturing to condemn or approve, before they know the nature of the engagements entered into, the reasons why, or the manner in which the whole was conducted, seems rather premature ; especially, as they will have an opportunity of so soon making themselves competent judges ; the whole being now ordered to be laid before the board, as mentioned in the former part of their minute.



THE reason why the whole council was not before informed was, that it was an affair that absolutely required secrecy ; and it is expressly for the conduct of such affairs, that the Court of Directors has thought proper to appoint a Select Committee. To the secrecy which was observed, may in great measure be attributed the speedy and easy success which attended the execution, and the preventing all disturbance, and loss of blood.”

As the measures which produced this revolution in the government of Bengal, were not intended merely for obtaining advantages for the Company, but were as necessary for remedying the disorders in the government itself, and saving the provinces from the ruin with which they were threatened, in consequence of those disorders, I thought it necessary to form a memorial, to shew these transactions to the world in that light, abstracted from the benefits accruing to the Company ; which memorial I laid before the council the 10th of November ; the following is a copy.

Copy



Copy of a Memorial on the Subject of the Revolution in the Bengal Government in the Year 1760.

“ **T**HE Nabob Jaffier Allee Cawn was of a temper extremely tyrannical and avaritious, and at the same time very indolent ; and the people about him being either abject slaves and flatterers, or else the base instruments of his vices, there was no chance of having the affairs of the government properly conducted, but by their removal. He attributed all the ill success of his affairs to imaginary plots and contrivances, and sacrificed lives without mercy, to the excess of his jealousy. Numberless are the instances of men of all degrees, whose blood he has spilt without the least assigned reason. To learn the names and circumstances of all these sufferers would be a work of time, but some of the most striking examples are these following :

COJA HADDEE, the first Buxy, first banished for a pretended conspiracy against

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gainst the Nabob's life, and afterwards cut off at Shahbad, in his march out of the province.

MEER CAZIM, the second Buxy, invited by the Chuta Nabob to his house; and after having received from him unusual marks of affection, assassinated at the gates of the palace.

ABDUL-OHAB CAWN, murdered at the Rumna, in the month of March, 1760, by some of the Hircarras, belonging to Checon, who way-laid him for that purpose by the Nabob's orders.

YAR MAHMUD, formerly in great favor with the Nabob Serajah Dowla, and since Droga of the Emarut, slain in the presence of the Chuta Nabob, in the month of April, 1760.

GASSEETA BEGUM, widow of the Nabob * Shahamut Jung.

EMNA BEGUM, mother to the Nabob Serajah Dowla.

MURADA DOWLA, the son of Padsha Couly Cawn, adopted by Shahamut Jung.

LUTFIN

* Nephew of Alliverdee Cawn.

LUTFIN NISSA BEGUM, widow of the Nabob Serajah Dowla.

HER infant daughter by Serajah Dowla.

THE five unhappy sufferers, mentioned last, perished all in one night at Dacca, about the month of June, 1760, where they had been detained prisoners since the accession of Jaffier Allee Cawn to the government. A perwannah was sent to Jeffarut Cawn, the Naib of Dacca, to put to death all the survivors of the family of the Nabobs Alliverdee Cawn, Shahamut Jung, and Serajah Dowla ; but, upon his declining to obey so cruel an order, the messenger, who had private instructions to execute this tragedy, in case of the other's refusal, took them from the place of their confinement, carried them out at midnight upon the river, and massacred and drowned them, with about seventy women of inferior note, and attendants ; what became of Alliverdee Cawn's widow is uncertain, it being reported by many, that she escaped the fate of the rest of her family. Executions, of this kind, had



had made the Nabob the dread or detestation of all good men ; and he necessarily became a prey to people of mean extraction and abject dispositions, who knowing, that a government so managed could not stand long, fought only to make themselves rich by oppressions, of all sorts, upon the country and inhabitants. To the taxes laid by them on the markets, is ascribed the present unusual scarcity and dearth of the provisions at Moorshedabad, the capital of a country, once esteemed the most plentiful in the world. The persons who have had the chief share in this management, are Keenooram, Monelol, and Checon, all of low birth ; and the two first, the menial servants of Jaffier Allee Cawn, before he came to the Subahship. These managed so, as to engage him continually in idle or vicious amusements, keeping him by that means in utter ignorance of his affairs, and in a state of indifference as to their success ; no money came into his treasury ; at the same time, nothing was paid to his army, insomuch that his troops
mutinied,

mutinied, and furrounded his palace in a tumultuous manner, threatening to take away his life ; which they would certainly have done, had not his son-in-law, the present Nabob Cossim Allee Cawn, become answerable, and paid them a very large sum out of his own treasury. This happened last June ; and if the imminent danger, with which his person was threatened on this occasion, awakened him for a moment, no sooner was it removed again to a distance, than he fell back into the lethargy which had so long possessed him. The same unworthy ministers remained still his only counsellors, and continued in the management of his affairs to the last day of his administration, which he left in so confused and impoverished a state, that, in all human appearance, another month could hardly have run through, before he would have been cut off by his own seepoys, and the city have become a scene of plunder and disorder, the Nabob having made no further provision for the payment of the arrears due to his people,





ple, after Coffim Allee Cawn had freed him from his former extremity. This danger he could not but foresee, and more than once declared his apprehensions of it, yet had not the power to exert the necessary means of preventing it, but sunk the deeper into dejection. Besides this intestine danger, to which the government was exposed, two armies were in the field, and waiting only the fair weather to advance; the Shahzada towards Patna, and the Beerboom Rajah towards Moorshedabad, the capital. The Rajahs of Bissenpoor, Ramgur, and the other countries, bordering upon the mountains, were ready to shake off their dependance, and had offered considerable supplies to the Beerboom Rajah. The Rajah of Curruckpoor had committed open hostilities, and taken possession of all the country about Bauglepoor, which entirely stopped the communication between the two provinces on that side of the river. In a word, the whole country seemed quite ripe for an universal revolt, those parts only excepted, whose
natural

natural weakness or neighborhood with the city, intimidated them from taking up arms. To encounter all these difficulties, there was nothing but troops without pay, from whom therefore no great efforts could be expected. Of this, a very recent instance occurs in the detachment which was ordered against the Beerboom Rajah, three months before the Nabob's abdication, but never advanced more than three cofs from the city, in which situation they continued upon my arrival there. All who are now in Bengal, and acquainted with the transactions of the government, will bear witness, that this is a true description of facts; and all who are convinced of the facts, will certainly agree, that affairs were at an extremity no longer to be neglected, without manifest danger of having the province over-run, and the trade entirely ruined. I was resolved therefore to use my utmost endeavors to get those bad ministers removed, and judging it might be difficult to prevail with the Nabob to part with his favorites, without



without some degree of violence, I brought with me a detachment of Europeans and seepoys, under pretence of sending them with Colonel Caillaud, to reinforce the army at Patna *.

COSSIM ALLEE CAWN supplied the Nabob with boats, and permitted him to take away as many of his women as he desired (which he did to the number of about sixty) with a reasonable quantity of jewels. In the morning of the 22d of October he set out for Calcutta, and arrived there the 29th. He was met by a deputation from the council, and treated with every mark of respect due to his former dignity.”

* The Memorial proceeds to give an account of the Revolution, as has been already related, in the letters from Mr. Vanfittart and Colonel Caillaud at Muradbaug.



SECTION V.

The Rise of the Party formed against Mr. Vansittart, with their Protests and Objections against the Revolution.

First Occasion of the Discontent of Mes. Amyatt, Ellis, and Carnac.—Mes. Amyatt, Ellis, and Smythe, their Minute in Council the 8th of January, 1761.—Reply of the Select Committee.—Mr. Ellis's further Minute.

I HOPED, the care I had taken to explain the motives of the Select Committee's Resolutions, and the advantages resulting to the Company, would have induced the rest of the Council to approve of them ; but I had some unhappy tempers to deal with ; and there were mischievous people in the settlement, who were busy in improving every circumstance to inflame disputes ; particularly, one of the surgeons, who happened to have a great influence over Mr.



Mr. Amyatt ; and who was offended at my not consulting him upon the affairs of government : some accidents concurred to favour this malevolent disposition.

My coming to Bengal in so advanced a station, gave occasion for complaint, to all the senior servants of that settlement, and particularly to Mr. Amyatt, who was the next to the chair. Mr. Ellis upon his arrival applied for the chiefship of Patna, to which Mr. M'Gwire had been appointed two months before *, and had settled his affairs accordingly. As I thought Mr. Ellis's application unreasonable, I gave my opinion against it ; by which he thought himself injured ; and major Carnac was violently offended at my expressing a desire that colonel Caillaud, who had been present at all the debates of the Select Committee, and had been particularly charged with the execution of their resolutions, should remain in the command at Patna till their views were fulfilled, either

* Upon Mr. Amyatt's coming to Calcutta.

ther by a negotiation with the Shahzada, or a decisive action.

THE first declaration of Mr. Amyatt's disapprobation of the proceedings of the Select Committee, and of a change in Mr. Ellis's sentiments, appears in a minute which they entered upon the consultations on the 8th of January 1761, as follows.

Copy of Mr. Amyatt's Minute, to which Messieurs Ellis and Smyth assented.

“**M**R. AMYATT takes this opportunity to observe, that he is of opinion, the reasons given for deposing Jaffier Allee Cawn (for he can look upon it in no other light) are far from being sufficient to convict him of breach of faith ; consequently, in the eyes of the world, the whole odium of such proceedings must retort upon ourselves. The cruelties of which he is accused must to a civilized government appear shocking ; but in despotick ones, there are none entirely free from instances

of this kind, as their own fears and jealousies are ever prompting them to such unwarrantable actions; and it is well known, that the present Nabob has already fallen into the same severities, as likewise that he has shewn marks of favor to those ministers, who, we are told, saw with an evil eye the influence of the Company, and readily snatched at every opportunity to reduce it. Meer Jaffier being confirmed by the Court of Delly in the Subahship was a very valuable consideration, which ought not to have been overlooked; because, whenever that distracted state is restored to peace and tranquility, he being legally in possession of the government, would of course be confirmed by the reigning king without hesitation; whereas the obtaining so great a favour for Coffim Allee Cawn, must be attended with both difficulty and expence. The treaty subsisting between us and Coffim Allee Cawn plainly shews, that his sole aim at the time of entering into it was the Subahdarree of Bengal. Otherwise, how ridicu-



ridiculous was it for him to make a promise, of ceding certain countries to the Company, which his post of Dewan could never have given him the power of executing. The great advantages expected to accrue from those countries, it is feared, will prove entirely imaginary, as it is now near three months since this revolution was effected; and yet so far from any appearance of extricating ourselves from our difficulties, as expected, we are involved in fresh troubles every day; which will not appear strange, when we cast our eyes upon the person we have raised to the musnud, whose character was never in any light conspicuous till lately; and whose treacherous behaviour to his father-in-law, leaves us very little hopes of his attachment to our interest; nor indeed can it be expected, that he will place any confidence in us, who have assisted to dethrone a man, we were bound to support by the most solemn ties, divine and human such a breach of faith must necessarily occasion the loss of our influence in this

country, and bereave us of the superiority, which our steady adherence to our promise ever gave us over those people. For the above reasons Mr. Amyatt dissents to the whole transaction ; and further declares, that he never was consulted nor advised with concerning it ; nor did he know that it ever was intended, till publick report had informed him of it's execution."

IT was so well known, .that Mr. Fullerton was the chief author of the foregoing minute, that myself, and the other gentlemen of the Select Committee, could not help taking notice of it in our answer of the 12th ; which was as follows :

“ THE Governor, Colonel Caillaud, and the other gentlemen of the council, who did, and still continue to approve of the late transactions with the country government, beg leave to offer a few observations upon Mr. Amyatt's minute of last consultation, the tenor of which might deceive the world if not examined, but
when

when examined, will be found to have but little foundation.

IF the Select Committee, debating upon the dangerous state of the affairs of the province, in August and September last, had been desirous of breaking with the then Nabob Jaffier Allee Cawn, there were reasons enough to justify, nay to urge such a resolution. The letter which the former Governor, Mr. Holwell, laid before the Select Committee, the 4th of August, for the information of Mr. Vansittart, then just arrived, contain more than sufficient proofs of that Nabob's breach of his engagements to the Company. Many instances are mentioned, of his jealousy of the English power, and of his refusal of every favor that was asked him, which might tend to encrease it. We have in our hands, an authentic proof of one most essential instance of his ill faith therein-mentioned. It is said in the treaty, that our enemies shall be his enemies ; but it is beyond doubt, that he urged the Dutch to send for forces

to oppose ours. We have an original letter of the Directore to the Nabob, which plainly implies, that it was with his consent those troops were sent for, and the tenor of the general advices transmitted to Europe last season, sufficiently shews this was Colonel Clive's opinion, though he mentioned it with all possible tendernefs. Nor if we had desired to remove Jaffier Allee Cawn from the government, need we have done more than withdraw our protection. His government would soon have been put an end to, and probably his life also, which was more than once in extreme danger from his own people.

BUT mindful of the connections that had been between him and the Company, we had the most tender regard both for his person and government, neither of which could have subsisted, without other supports than those he had about him. After the unfortunate death of his son, his son-in-law, Coffim Allee Cawn, was the proper person to succeed to the government; and being his nearest

est



est relation, it was thought his council and assistance would be the least obnoxious. But if, on the other hand, he should have determined to admit of no one near him, and continually refuse every application for the advantage of the Company, and even common justice in the performance of past agreements, would it have been expedient to sacrifice the interest of the Company, and the prospect of relieving the province from its distressed state, to the invincible jealousy of one man? And might we not, with more reason, place our past services in the scale, against the benefits received from him; and pursue, with steadiness, the plan determined on, as most for the welfare of the country in general, and of the Company in particular?

THAT Cossim Allee Cawn had views of the Subahdarree for himself, when he entered into the treaty with us, is beyond all doubt; but they were views in reversion, not immediate. In the mean time he engaged, that through the influence we were to give him over the old Nabob,



bob, he would obtain for the Company the grants therein mentioned.

BUT it is insinuated, in Mr. Amyatt's minute, that our affairs are in a worse condition now, than before the change of the government. That the addition of Burdwan, Midnapoor, and Chittagong, to the Company's possessions without the loss of a man, is a hurt to the Company, seems to us a paradox. It is said, that it is near three months since the revolution was effected, and yet there is no appearance of extricating ourselves from the difficulties ; and that the great advantages expected to accrue from those countries will prove, it is feared, merely imaginary. It is only twenty days since the Burdwan Vackeel came here, and settled the payment. This day is the first payment due ; and although the Rajah's faith is not to be depended upon, yet it is probable he will pay the money, according to the agreement, to make his peace ; if not, the country is worth that, and more money, and lies so convenient,



ent, that it can always be disposed of as we see best.

As to Midnapoor, it is not a month since captain White took possession, and he had no orders to collect money. Mr. Johnstone is appointed for that purpose, but set out so lately, that his arrival is not yet heard of.

AND for Chittagong, Mr. Verelst, and the other gentlemen appointed, set out only twenty days ago. We must give them time to arrive, before we can expect to collect money.

SURELY here is a fair prospect of advantages accruing to the Company ; and of present benefits, instances shall also be mentioned.

“ THE payment of the arrears due to the English troops at Patna ; and of what we advanced to the Nabob’s troops.

“ AN assistance to the Company of five lacks, which Mr. Batson, at Cossimbuzar, is now receiving,

“ LEAVE granted for coining Moorshedabad ficcas in our mint, which was before confined to Calcutta ficcas.

“ WHO

“WHO would there have been to oppose the march of the Beerboom Rajah, to the capital of Moorshedabad? For the old Nabob had neither the means of making his own troops take the field, nor would he trust the English.

“WHERE would the Nabob’s troops, at Patna, have got a supply of seven or eight lacks of rupees, as the present Nabob has paid them since his coming to the government?”

WE believe no one will pretend to say, the old Nabob would or could have made such efforts, or would have granted such favors to the Company.

As to the Mogul’s Firmaun, there was a time when the orders of Delly had some weight at Bengal, but that time is no more. It is hard to say who is King at Delly, or who will be; but if ever it comes to be settled, there is little doubt of Coffim Allee Cawn’s getting a Firmaun, with as much ease, as one was procured for the old Nabob, who never paid the King his share of the revenues.



IT is asserted, that the ministers complained of, under the old Nabob, have received marks of favor from the present Nabob ; two of them have received the compliment of a kellaat, or a dress upon the adjustment of their accounts ; but they are in no employ or trust ; if they were, it would not be in their power to do now the same injuries to the Company and country, as they did in the old Nabob's time ; because the present Nabob would not be so easily led to give ear to their evil councils as his predecessor.

IT is asserted also, that the present Nabob has been guilty of some assassinations. This the Governor believes is a false report. He declares, that he had not before heard of any such proceeding, although he has pretty good intelligence of what passes ; and that he has enquired particularly, since he saw it so positively asserted, and has great reason to think it is an unjust accusation ; if it should prove true, we should not so easily excuse a crime so shocking, nor think



think of it so lightly, as it is represented in Mr. Amyatt's minute *.

THAT Mr. Smyth should subscribe to this opinion is not to be wondered at, because he subscribed to one of the like nature of Mr. Verelst's, in consultation of the 8th of November, without having read any of the proceedings ; but that Mr. Ellis should subscribe to it, after signifying his approbation of the measures, in many letters that have been wrote on the subject ; and particularly in one from the Select Committee to the Governor and Colonel Caillaud, dated the 24th of November, is somewhat surprising, and gives fresh reason to apprehend, what has been long suspected, that other persons, not in the Company's service,

* It afterwards appeared, that there was no foundation for Mr. Amyatt's assertion. The pretended sufferers were a son of Sirfraz Cawn (Nabob of Bengal above twenty years ago) and the widow of Alliverdee Cawn (the next Nabob after Sirfraz Cawn). Upon enquiry, I found that these two persons, instead of having suffered any violence, were obliged to the Nabob's benevolence for a handsome maintenance.



vice, nor having any regard for the Company, are consulted upon affairs which do not belong to them ; by which unfortunately they gain an ascendancy over the minds of better men than themselves ; and this authority they exert to the utmost, to the purpose of making divisions in the settlement, and more particularly in the council. It is only such pens as those, that can reflect upon the late measures, as a breach of “ all ties, human and divine ;” a reproach which nothing can merit, but a premeditated intention to do some great ill.

IT were to be wished, in dissents of this nature, that the reasons for the measures formed were considered in their full extent, the situation of the Company at home, and the situation of their affairs in general, well weighed. All these, in as full a manner as possible, were laid before the board, and our necessities and wants so plainly appeared, that all the members present were satisfied and convinced, that unless some other measures were pursued, we could not keep up the cause
any

any longer. It was plain, that what was proposed to be done was rather the effect of necessity than choice ; and what followed was certainly unexpected. It was therefore impossible that Mr. Amyatt could be made acquainted with a design that never existed. Those, to whose consideration it fell, were unanimous in their opinion ; and they flatter themselves, that all who will take into their view the then state of affairs, the nature of the resolutions taken, and all the circumstances attending this transaction, and will judge thereupon with candor, not suffering themselves to be byassed by the prejudices of others, will do us more justice, and be far from calling in question our sense of the faith of treaties, or our regard for the nation's honor and our own."

As I have taken notice of Mr. Ellis's change in his opinion of the transactions with the country government, it is proper to insert his reply on the subject.



*Copy of Mr. Ellis's Minute of the 16th of
January, 1761.*

“ **M**R. ELLIS thinks it incumbent on him to reply to that part of the Governor's, &c. minute entered in last monday's consultation, where such surprize is expressed at his dissent, after signifying his approbation of the late measures in many letters that have been wrote on the subject. Mr. Ellis has carefully perused, and yet cannot find, that his approbation is signified, not even in that, particularly quoted, of the 24th of November, unless a complimentary congratulation can in any ways be construed as an approbation of the design ; a light in which, he flatters himself, no impartial judge can look upon it. His sentiments with regard to the revolution have never altered, nor have they ever been kept a secret ; but he conceives there was no absolute necessity, they should appear upon the face of the consultations till now, when it became so for his own justification to his employers.

THE

THE reflection of his being influenced in his opinion by others, though not of so good a turn of mind as himself, is a compliment to his morals, at the expence of his capacity, which being merely personal, and quite foreign to the subject in hand, might as well have been spared : and in answer thereto he only wishes, for the good of the settlement, others in power were as little influenced in the management of publick affairs, by the opinion of those about them, as he himself.”

SECTION VI.

Dangerous Disputes with the Nabob at Patna, during the Command of Major Carnac and Colonel Coote ; and the Removal of those Gentlemen from that Station.

First Effects of Meer Cossim's Administration.—He takes the Field.—Select Committee's Orders to Major Carnac.—Major Carnac's Answer.—Further Orders

Orders of the Select Committee to Major Carnac.—Meer Cossim marches to Patna.—Major Carnac's Letter to the Select Committee, containing an Account of his Interview with Meer Cossim.—Meer Cossim's Letter to Mr. Vanfittart, on the same Subject.—Orders thereupon from the Select Committee to Major Carnac.—Colonel Coote arrives in Bengal, and takes the Command of the Army at Patna.—The Orders given him by the Select Committee.—Letter from Major Carnac to the Select Committee.—Colonel Coote joins with Major Carnac in opposing the Nabob.—Ramnarain protected by them, refuses to settle the Accounts of his Government.—Several Letters from the Nabob, giving an Account of the Consequences of these Disputes.—Orders thereupon from the Select Committee to Colonel Coote.—Two Letters from the Nabob, containing Complaints against Colonel Coote, and particularly of a Sally made by the Colonel into his Camp.—Two Letters from Mr. M'Gwire,

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on the same Subjects.—Mr. Vanfittart lays before the Council an Account of these Disturbances.—Their Orders in Consequence, recalling Colonel Coote and Major Carnac to Calcutta.—Two Letters from Colonel Coote, containing an Account of his Proceedings.

THE good effects of the Nabob's attention to the œconomy of his government soon appeared ; for besides the seven lacks, which (as I have already mentioned) he dispatched to Patna with Colonel Caillaud, he paid his troops, at Moorshedabad, so large a share of the arrears due to them, that they were well satisfied, and ready to take the field ; and upon Colonel Caillaud's further representation of the wants of the forces at Patna, he sent Nobit Roy, one of his principal officers there, with three lacks of rupees, and powers to examine and settle the accounts, and grant proper assignments for the balance. He also gave orders for six or seven lacks to be paid, in the months of December, January,

nuary, and February, to Mr. Batson, at Coffimbuzar, towards the discharge of his engagements with the Company ; which orders were punctually complied with. These helps given by the Nabob, enabled us to spare two lacks and a half out of our treasury, which were dispatched to Madras, in the month of November, and arrived there very opportunely for the service of the army before Pondicherry.

THE Nabob took the field himself the beginning of December, and encamped between Moorshedabad and Beerboom, till major Carnac's success against the Shahzada, and captain White's against the Rajah of Beerboom, had in a great measure cleared the country ; and then having spent a few days at Beerboom, for the regulation of that province, proceeded to Patna. At his request, major York was ordered to attend him ; and the Select Committee sent the following instructions to major Carnac, relative to the assistance he was to give him.

Extract of a Letter from the Select Committee to Major Carnac. Dated Calcutta, February 9, 1761.

“ **W**E observe, that when Colonel Caillaud began his march to Patna, the beginning of last year, he had particular instructions from Colonel Clive, and the rest of the Committee, to protect Ramnarain; in case of the Nabob’s making any attempt against his person or honor. We believe such an injunction at this time unnecessary, as the present Nabob seems to be well inclined towards Ramnarain; but should it prove otherwise, it is our resolution to have the same regard to the former engagements, in his favor, as was then designed; and therefore direct you, in case of necessity, to protect Ramnarain against all violence and injustice that may be offered to his person, honor, or fortune.

As to Rajebullub, he can have no reasonable objection to a fair examination of his accounts by the Nabob, or
such



such person as he shall appoint ; that a just statement being made of all the monies he has received, for defraying the charges of the troops under his command, together with a due enquiry of what number of troops have really been kept up, and how much every one has been paid ; the balance that is found due may then be discharged, and Rajebullub be employed again or not, as the Nabob thinks proper. This the Nabob declares is all he asks, and in this (as it is just and reasonable) you will yield him all the necessary assistance.”

• *Extract of a Letter from Major Carnac to the Select Committee, in Answer to the foregoing. February 24, 1761.*

“ **Y**OU may depend upon my giving the Nabob all the assistance in my power, to settle every thing in the province in the best manner ; I will also very readily lend my assistance in the adjusting the payment of that part of the troops under Rajebullub, as far as he means to act fairly by them ; but



should he expect any support from me in acts of injustice, he will be much mistaken. The English forces, while I have the honor of commanding them, shall never be employed as instruments of violence and oppression.

YOUR directions, in regard to Ram-narain, shall be religiously observed : I could not have received any order from you, with more pleasure than this, of protecting a person for whom I know Colonel Clive had a particular regard, and who himself deserves much at the hands of the English, on account of the attachment he has all along shewn them, however ill he might be disposed to the Nabob."

THE reader will see, by the stile of this letter, how ready major Carnac was to shew the prejudices which he had entertained against the Nabob, and his eagerness to enter into disputes with the board, since he could write in so unbecoming and arrogant a strain, in answer to their orders, which were delivered him in the most decent terms, and were confessedly

confessedly the most agreeable to his own way of thinking. This observation is made once for all, as the same vanity and intemperance will appear in all his writing.

Extract of a Letter from the Select Committee (Messrs. Vanfittart, Amyatt, Ellis, and Sumner) to Major Carnac. March 7, 1761, in Reply to the Above.

“ **W**E imagine the Nabob has before this time reached Patna. By his conduct hitherto, we see no reason to apprehend his engaging in any acts of violence or injustice ; nor, if he should, is it our desire you should support him in them ; our directions for your conduct with respect to him are only these ; that you give him the assistance he may apply for, to reduce to obedience such Zemindars, as have been disaffected to the government of Moorshe-
dabad, and to enable him to establish security, in the several countries of the Bahar province, and collect the revenues due therefrom ; and in regard to Raje-
N 4 · bullub,

bullub, and all others, who have had the management of the public monies, or the payment of the troops, or otherwise have accounts to settle with the government. As their disposition to make use of the protection of the English, to screen them from a just and usual examination is well known, you will be careful not to give them countenance or encouragement, so far as to put it in their power to make an ill use of your name and authority ; but, on the contrary, if any shall obstinately and unreasonably persist in refusing to settle accounts with the government, you are to give the Nabob the assistance he may require for compelling them to it."

The Nabob arrived at Patna the beginning of March ; and his first interview with major Carnac was at Bykuntpoor. The flights which the Major put upon the Nabob at this interview, may be regarded as a proof, that he had conceived some prejudice against him before his arrival ; and that the wished for harmony was not to be expected between them.



them. The following extracts of the Nabob's and the Major's letters will shew, what account each party gave of the conversation that passed at the first meeting.

Extract of a Letter from Major Carnac to the Select Committee. Patna, March 6, 1761.

“**T**HE Nabob continues encamped at Bykuntpoor, about six or seven coss off, where I have waited upon him ; whatever good qualities he may have, courage is not one of them ; he betrays a most shameful fear of the Shahzada, though the unhappy prince is reduced so low, as to be much more an object of pity than of fear. Not thinking himself sufficiently secure with the large force he brought up with him, he sent for, without acquainting me, both Ramnarain and Rajebullub, with their forces, whom I had directed to remain in Camgar Cawn's country, with a detachment from our army, under the Command of captain Champion. I no sooner heard of this, but I recalled captain

tain Champion likewise, which has given the Nabob great offence, so great, that he asked me in the publick Durbar, whether I would comply with the contents of the letter he brought me from the President. I answered him I would, as far as I was well persuaded Mr. Vanfittart expected from me, who did not mean that I was to pay him an implicit obedience. I further told him, that the direction of the English forces was left with me ; and that it was not reasonable any part of them should remain in a country with which they were wholly unacquainted, after he had withdrawn his own people. I have however, at his request, ordered captain Champion's detachment to halt awhile at Bahar, but shall call them in entirely, unless he sends out a body of his own troops to act in conjunction with them, the neglect whereof will infallibly bring Camgar Cawn out of his hills again.

THE Nabob next asked me, whether I looked upon him as Subahdar of the provinces, and was willing to assist him

as



as such ? In answer to which I plainly told him, I would give him all the assistance I could, consistent with honor and justice ; that further I would not do for him or any man. The very question gives me room to suspect he has some unreasonable demands to make of me ; should this be the case, he will undergo the mortification of a denial. I parted from the Nabob yesterday evening. We were both, you will judge, pretty much dissatisfied with each other ; he with me, for speaking my mind so freely to him, a thing very unprecedented in this country ; and I with him, for the delays and obstructions he is likely to cause to our military operations.”

Extract of a Letter from the Nabob to Mr. Vansittart. Received March 13, 1761.

“ **O**N the 26th of Rejub I arrived at Bykuntpoor, where I had the pleasure of meeting major Carnac, Maharajah Ramnarain, and Mharajah Rajebul-lub. Among other things, the Major told

told me, that he had sent for the troops which were at Gaunty, in the Zemin-darrec of Camgar Cawn. I replied, that to chastise Camgar Cawn was no difficult matter ; but that it was not proper to recall the troops belonging to the Company and myself, in so much haste, from the place where they were stationed. This he did not consent to ; but replied, that he would certainly send for his English troops. I delivered your letter to him ; when he perused it, he said, that Mr. Vansittart is two hundred cofs from hence ; and that he would do whatever he thought adviseable. I was persuaded that he would have acted according to your directions, and did not imagine, that he would have given me such an answer."

THE Select Committee hoping, by a further explanation of their intentions, to prevent any more disputes, wrote major Carnac as follows :



Copy of a Letter from the Select Committee (Messieurs Vanfittart, Amyatt, Ellis and Sumner) to Major Carnac.

“ **W**E have received your favor of the 6th ; such part thereof as relates to the Shahzada, we shall fully reply to in an address to yourself and Mr. M'Guire. We are extremely concerned, to see the disagreeable circumstances that passed at your first interview with the Nabob ; especially, as such a want of confidence shewn in a publick Durbar, cannot fail to hurt both parties in the eyes of the world. We hope a longer acquaintance will create a greater harmony ; which we must earnestly recommend both to you and the Nabob, as the publick service must suffer if any differences subsist ; for those are never wanting, who will seek to make their advantage by it.

IT is certainly right, and conformable to our inclinations, that the disposition of the army, and the determination on all military matters, should rest with
our

our commanding officer. The Nabob's sending for Ramnarain and Rajebullub with their forces, without first consulting you, was a very imprudent step, and much to be blamed, and perhaps may have been attended with bad consequences to his own affairs ; as it seems to have been in the power of Camgar Cawn to have returned to his own country. We cannot suppose the Nabob had any such view, because it is evidently his own loss ; but whatever his reasons might be, he ought certainly to have acquainted you with them. And we doubt not but he will be sensible, from your representations, how much his own interest depends on following your advice in all military matters. On the other hand, it is our intention, that you comply with his request, in every thing respecting the regulation of the country, and the collection of the revenues. Any detachment he may ask for, such services you are to grant ; unless you have reason to judge, that the safety of our troops will be at too great a risk.

We



We think this distinction sufficiently clear, and flatter ourselves that no disputes can hereafter arise.”

SOON after this, Colonel Coote arrived in Bengal, and was appointed to take the command of the army at Patna. He accordingly set out the 22d of April, and the following instructions were given him by the Select Committee.

Extract of the Instructions from the Select Committee (Mess. Vansittart, Coote, Amyatt, and Ellis) to Colonel Coote. April 21, 1761.

“WE are advised by major Carnac, that there is a difference between the Nabob and Ramnarain, relative to the accounts of the Patna province. We hope this may be amicably and reasonably adjusted, and request you will give your assistance towards it as much as possible. As Ramnarain has been remarkably steady in his alliance with the Company, and received from Colonel Clive particular assurances of his protection with respect to his person, fortune,



fortune, and government, we recommend to you to secure him against all attempts of oppression or injustice ; and further, that the government of Patna be preserved for him, if it is his inclination to continue in it. It is needless for us to add, that it will be far more agreeable to all parties, if that can be done by representing to the Nabob the obligations we are under to Ramnarain, and preventing by that means the necessity of any forcible measures.”

Extract of a Letter from the Select Committee (Mess. Vanfittart, Amyatt, and Ellis) to Colonel Coote. April 28, 1761.

“ **T**HE Nabob has made various representations to us of the difficulties he meets with, in settling his accounts with Ramnarain. As, on the one hand, we are inclined to support Ramnarain in the government of Patna, with all its just advantages ; so, on the other hand, we would protect the Nabob in the respect and authority due to him, and afford him every assistance
for



for the collection of his revenues, without which it is impossible he can pay the arrears of his troops, or support the other charges of his government. The nature of the differences between them seems to be such, as can only be adjusted by arbitration ; and for this determination, we can pitch upon no other person so well qualified as yourself. We therefore request you will make this business one of the first articles of your attention ; and when you are yourself acquainted with the merits of the cause, you will transmit them to us, with your sentiments thereon.”

Extract of a Letter from the Select Committee (Mess. Vanfittart, Amyatt and Ellis) to Colonel Coote, and Mr. M'Gwire. May 8, 1761.

“ **W**E desire you, gentlemen, will use your utmost endeavors to adjust the accounts between the Nabob and Ramnarain, in such a manner, as shall appear to you most equitable ; and so, that the revenues may be duly collected,

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lected, and the balances not be lost to the fircar, and the public service,”

UPON the news of Colonel Coote’s arrival, Major Carnac determined to quit Patna, and wrote to the Select Committee in the following terms.

Extract of a Letter from Major Carnac to the Select Committee. May 8, 1761.

“**A**S Colonel Coote is coming to the army, who is so very able to take charge, both of your military and political concerns, there will be no further occasion for my services ; and as I have great reason to believe I shall return to Europe the next season, unless something unforeseen should happen, I am to request the favor of your permission to apply to Colonel Coote, for leave to go to Calcutta on his arrival. I should not make this request so early, but that I am desirous to be there in time ; that in case I go home (which is highly probable) I may be able to get myself ready to take the opportunity of the first conveyance.”

BUT



BUT upon the Colonel's arrival at Patna, this resolution was presently altered, and they seem to have determined to stay there together, on purpose to counteract, the more effectually, the Nabob in every step he was taking for regulating that distracted province. The Colonel, before he left the coast, had declared himself to be one of the opposition against the measures taken, since my coming to Bengal, and this I well knew; but as I was conscious of the necessity of those measures, and the country already felt the good effects of them, I did not apprehend, that any men would be so violent, as to risk the public tranquillity to satisfy their prejudices, especially as all the orders of the Select Committee, to the commanding officers at Patna, tended to give the Nabob a due authority over his own people, and to assist his interests in all that he could reasonably ask. However, it soon appeared how little effect these orders could have, when opposed against the resolutions of a violent party. Hardly



a day past, but Colonel Coote, and major Carnac, found some opportunity of distressing the Nabob, and throwing difficulties in his way. The Shahzada, who after his defeat had put himself under our protection, and had been acknowledged King by us and the Nabob, was yet at Patna, and the Nabob was desirous of obtaining his grants for the Subahdarree of the provinces ; but Colonel Coote opposed the application, and he was obliged to wait, and procure them at a great increase of expence, after the King had left the province. Ramnarain, the Naib (or deputy Governor) of the Patna province, had three years accounts of his administration to settle, to avoid which, he made use of every shift and artifice that could be invented, and so effectually screened himself under the protection of the Colonel and Major, that for four months together not a single explanation could be had from him. He was well acquainted with their ill disposition towards the Nabob, and flattered himself, that he might inflame



flame it so far, as to cause an open breach between them, and so raise himself upon the Nabob's ruin. Whether Colonel Coote was led by Ramnarain's intrigues, or impelled by his own prejudices against the Nabob, I shall not attempt to determine ; but nothing could be better calculated to produce the effects they both wished, than the step the Colonel took upon a report, absolutely incredible. It was pretended, that the Nabob, with the undisciplined rabble, which devolved to him from his predecessor, had a design of attacking our army within the city of Patna, whereupon Colonel Coote made a sally to the Nabob's camp, with a large escort at such an hour, and in such a humor, that if he and the Nabob had met, in all probability, it would have caused an immediate scene of hostility ; but the Nabob was in his sleeping tent, and did not appear.

I LEAVE the world to judge of this, and all the transactions during the time that Colonel Coote and major Carnac
O 3 were

were at Patna, from the following original papers.

*Extract of a Letter from the Nabob to
Mr. Vanfittart. Received April 12,
1761.*

“ **T**HROUGH the instigations of the disaffected, the ties of friendship are broke between the major and me. He gives me such orders, as it is not in my power to comply with, and will not listen to the answers I make him. For several days it has been reported, that the Shah will march from hence, and the Major told me to-day, that he would accompany him to the Currumnassa, and desired, I would let Mharajah Ramnarain proceed with him, and that I would give the Shah two lacks of rupees more for his way charges; I replied, that Mharajah Ramnarain was the commander of this country; and that it was necessary he should stay to regulate the affairs.

Extract



Extract of a Letter from the Nabob to Mr. Vanfittart. Received April 28, 1761.

“ **I** BEFORE heard of the imprudence and evil intentions of Ramnarain ; but since my arrival at Patna, I have seen nothing but his baseness and deceit ; and therefore major Carrac is displeased with me, and has sent me such messages by Mr. Lushington, as it is not in my power to comply with. Till this time, I did not think it necessary to acquaint you with the whole affair ; but the business is now going out of my hands, and through the wickedness of my enemies, my affairs will be ruined. It is necessary for me to acquaint you with all the particulars, and to desire your advice.

FROM what the Major wrote me, I imagine he is displeased. Inclosed I send you two of his letters for your perusal. I am much surprized, that tho' you wrote to the gentlemen to be in friendship with me, and follow my advice, yet they act in such manner, that



I have no power over my own Naib; and then what other business can I carry on? Now Colonel Coote is coming, and major Carnac is on good terms with him, doubtless you have properly represented to him, that according to the first agreement, whoever remains in this province, on the part of the Company, is to be my ally, and act agreeably to my desire. Take care that what regulations I think proper to make in this province, may be consented to by the gentlemen, or else give me orders to deliver the affairs of the province into their hands."

Extract of a Letter from the Nabob to Mr. Vanfittart. Received April 30, 1761.

"**Y**OU acquaint me, that I must rest satisfied, and put an end to the business, and that I must not be under any apprehensions of others. Before my arrival here, I understood, that the affairs of the province were ruined, and that Ramnarain acted contrary to my interest; but since my arrival, I have been
an

an eye-witness of it. Ramnarain, by his deceits, has brought the Major over to his interest, and it was through his representations, that the Major sent Mr. Lushington so often to me, to desire I would give him leave to depart. Ramnarain, well knowing that the Major accompanied the Shah, was desirous of going with him, because his paying the money due from him, and giving me an account of his conduct, would be delayed by that means."

Extract of a Letter from the Nabob to Mr. Vanfittart. Received June 15, 1761.

"**Y**OU have several times wrote me to procure a funnud for the Subahdarree. In consequence of your letters, I drew up an address to his Majesty, when he had intentions of proceeding to Delly with his royal standard; and I wanted to present it, and get it signed by his Majesty; but Colonel Coote would not consent to it, and therefore I deferred it."

Extract

Extract of a Letter from the Nabob to Mr. Vanfittart. Received June 16, 1761.

“ **T**HE state of affairs here is as follows. You were pleased to intimate to me, that I should examine the accounts of Mharajah Ramnarain; in consequence of which, I appointed Mharajah Rajebullub to examine the said accounts in the presence of Colonel Coote; and sent word to Mharajah Ramnarain of the resolution taken by the council; he replied, that he would consider upon it, and give an answer; and for four or five days, Mharajah Rajebullub constantly attended the Colonel, in order to examine the papers. Yesterday Ramnarain made this answer to the Colonel; “ I will not oppose the order of the council, and now, that you say, the Nabob is my master, I will attend upon and confer with him.” Last night the Colonel came to my tent, and told me, that he had received no orders from the council for the dismissal of Ramnarain; that I might make a scrutiny
into



into his accounts, and if he was convicted of any misconduct, and the council's orders should authorize it, he should be dismissed, but without this, it could by no means be done : and Mr. Watts came to me with Rajebullub in the name of the Colonel, and proposed the confirmation of Camgar Cawn, with many other demands, and said several unbecoming things, which I think not fit to repeat ; in short, I have no power in any one affair of the government. The Colonel desired me to go into the * Kellah. How can I go to the Kellah without any authority, and whilst my enemy is in full possession ? When I talk of going to Moorshedabad, he replies, that Shuja Dowla is at hand, and adds, that I pay no regard to his words : I answer, “ In the name of God, in what instance have I been, or am I deficient ? Do you take the provinces of Bengal and Bahar into your own hands, and make me accountable for all that I have received these seven months past.” But nothing I say

* The palace within the city.

say is complied with ; I have no reliance on any one but you, and none else can conduct my affairs. There is a just demand on Mharajah Ramnarain of large sums, on account of the last four years. If I make an enquiry into his accounts, I shall receive a large supply of money ; notwithstanding this, I remain here wearied out, and involved in vexations. The army murmurs on account of the dearth of grain, and the subjects are reduced, by their disorders, to the most fatal extremities. This * wretch sits here fomenting dissensions, and giving my life and fortune a prey to my seepoys. For God's sake let not go my hand in the middle of the sea, but assist me as you have always done ; and write, in the most pressing terms, to the Colonel, and send an order of the council, that he oppose not the removal of the Naib of this place, and leave the country now in my hands. After this, I will finish all the accounts.

* Ramnarain.

Extract



Extract of a Letter from the Select Committee (Messieurs Vanfittart, Amyatt, Ellis and Sumner) to Colonel Coote.
June 18, 1761.

“ **W**E hope your advice has had some effect upon Ramnarain. It seems, however, by his delays in settling accounts upon the footing directed in our joint letter to yourself and Mr. M'Gwire, dated the 17th of last month, that he is endeavoring, by evading the delivery of his accounts, to preserve his own authority of the Subahship, and prevent the Nabob from collecting any money. It is neither equitable nor expedient to suffer any more of the revenues to be lost ; but while the old accounts are under examination, let the Nabob place his own people to collect all the growing rents, and to call the Zemindars to account for their balances ; and let Ramnarain's power be suspended until his accounts are settled ; and a computation of the rents transmitted us, with the Nabob's propo-

proposals, for our determination, as desired in our before-mentioned letter.

THE speedy execution of this is the more necessary, as our only dependence for supplying the army with money is from the Nabob's balance of about eight lacks, which we have desired him to pay to the chief and council at Patna; but which, in his letter to the President received last night, he says it is impossible for him to do, or indeed to pay his own troops, until his Aumildars are put in possession of the growing revenues, and he is fully supported in calling Ramnairain to an account for his administration, as well as collecting the balances due from the Zemindars. He adds in the same letter, "I have not now the power of collecting a single rupee."

IN another letter received at the same time, and of which inclosed is a copy, he speaks of an application made to him in behalf of Camgar Cawn, and other recommendations of the same nature: he complains of the unbecoming manner in which these applications have been made ;

made ; and represents the bad effects such protections have upon his authority. As he leaves us in the uncontrouled possession of the countries made over to the Company, so neither ought we to interfere in his disposition of those remaining under his jurisdiction ; nor indeed, is it consistent with the treaty subsisting between the Nabob and the Company, or the good government of the country. You will be pleased to let the Nabob settle all the affairs of his dependence as he thinks fit ; and only grant him, upon his application, such military assistance as he may require, and the state of our army permit.”

Copy of a Letter from the Nabob to Mr. Vanfittart. Dated June 16, 1761.

“ **S**INCE the arrival of Col. Coote, agreeably to your directions, esteeming his will worthy of my principal attention, and regarding our mutual friendship, I have never been deficient in acting agreeably thereto. After his arrival here, he spoke to me in the following





lowing manner concerning the King's affairs; "that as long as he should remain here, I should consent to allow him a lack of rupees monthly for his expences; and that when he should go to Delly, I should consent to dismiss him with twelve lacks of rupees and a few troops." These articles, for the Colonel's satisfaction, I was under a necessity of consenting to; and I went to his Majesty, and told him I would be answerable for these conditions; but he would not consent to it. Afterwards the Colonel directed me to pay, besides what I before gave him, fifty thousand rupees. Agreeable therefore to the Colonel's desire, I gave him the said sum by the means of Mharajah Ramnarain, besides what I paid before. His Majesty made no stay here, but determined to proceed to Delly, and is now on his march that way. When his Majesty was departing, I spoke to the Colonel concerning the obtaining of the sunnud; but he was not satisfied, and forbid me. I was under a necessity of acquiescing in his pleasure, and deferred it,

it, nor mentioned it again. Roy Shita-broy, who is appointed for the negotiation of affairs at his Majesty's court, always endeavors to throw things into confusion : I frequently desired the Colonel to dismiss him as an incendiary, and appoint another in his place, but he would not listen to it. Ever since the Colonel came here, to this time, I have regarded what he said and directed, as of the greatest importance; and have done every thing according to his will, in order to gain his friendship ; I have looked upon every thing he said as of the greatest consequence, making it a principal point to establish a friendship between us, and to gain his affection. According to the rules of friendship, I have observed all the customs and forms in entertainments of eating and reciprocal visits more attentively and more heartily with him, than I ever did with any other person. In every respect, I have done every thing to please and satisfy him, and entered into mutual engagements with him ; notwithstanding which behavior, he has





not consented to a single thing that I have requested of him. Agreeably to what you wrote to me formerly concerning Mharajah Ramnarain's affairs, I spoke to the Colonel, and at his recommendation appointed Mharajah Rajebul-lub to examine the accounts. Golaum Allee Cawn, and the said Mharajah, went backwards and forwards to the Kella for fifteen or sixteen days together; but Ramnarain neither gave them a single paper, nor a writer to attend them. Afterwards the Colonel came and said to me, "We Europeans do not understand the country accounts, I will send Mharajah Ramnarain to you; he shall not be dismissed, but you may examine his accounts yourself." This I would not consent to; nevertheless, the next day he sent him to me, contrary to my will, with Mr. Watts. Since that day, to the present moment, he (Ramnarain) protracts the time in going backwards and forwards, and fixing the time for preparing his papers, but he has not produced a single paper, nor paid a single cowry,

cowry, nor delivered over the charge of a rupee's worth of the country. Tho' I have complained, no one would listen to me, nor give me redress. Ever since my arrival here, the English seepoys have been stationed at the gates of the city, and would not permit my people to pass and repass. Mr. M'Gwire being somewhat indisposed, I went to see him at the factory ; and from thence I went to the Colonel, and sat down and conversed with him. He desired, that on Tuesday the 12th of Zeckaada, I would go into the Kella, and on Friday the 15th, cause the Cootba to be read, and fittas struck in the name of his Majesty. This I agreed to, and returned home. When the officers of my troops heard that I was going into the Kella, they represented, that they should have frequent occasion to come to me, in order to lay their requests and petitions before me ; and that till the seepoys, &c. were taken off, they could not pass and repass without interruption ; that when Meer Mahomed Jaffier Allee Cawn, and Na-

fir-ool-moolk, deceased, resided in the Kella, the seepoy guards were not upon the gates ; and that till they were taken off, they should not be able to pass ; considering, therefore, that the seepoys were men of low disposition, frequently opposing men of credit in passing, and presenting their pieces to them and that many of my people were proud and haughty, so that disputes might arise, and disturbances be created ; I therefore wrote a letter to the Colonel, requesting he would take off the seepoys from the gates, and that then I would go to the Kella. Upon the receipt of this letter, which contained no more than what I have here mentioned, the Colonel was very angry, and flew into such a passion, that he said he would send for the King again ; and told Golaum Allee Cawn, who was then present, that he would not take the guards off the gates, and that I might send troops to drive them off. Since the day the Colonel arrived here, he has declared to me, that I must comply with every thing that he shall recom-

recommend ; and, accordingly, he has since told me in person, and by messages brought by Mr. Watts and Sheik Cumaul, that “ I must appoint Nundcoomar to the Fougedarree of Hoogly, give the government of Purnea to the son of Allee Cooley Cawn, restore Muzuffer Allee (who plundered Nasir-ool-moolk’s jewels to the amount of eight lacks of rupees) to the Zemindarree of Carrackpoor, restore Camgar Cawn to the Zemindarree of Mey, and regulate the Zemindarrees of Radshay and Dinagepoor, according to his pleasure.” Tho’ I desired the Colonel to appoint a Mutafeddee, to examine the accounts of my eight months government, and set me free, he would not listen to it. All my hopes of reliance are on your friendship and attachment to your engagements. This is the only consolation I have under my present afflictions ; it is the dependence I have upon your word that keeps me alive, without this, it would be impossible to survive them. My hopes were, from the revenues of this province,



vince, to pay my debt to the Company, and reduce the number of my forces, but nothing is yet done, I apprehend the seepoys will assemble, as in Meer Jaffier Allee Cawn's time, and put my life in danger, and bring shame and dishonor upon my family. In the eight months of my government, I have scarce had leisure to drink a little water, I have not had a minute's time to eat or enjoy sleep. The four months that I have been here, involved in troubles, I have not enjoyed the least happiness, except in the confidence I have in your friendship. My shame and dishonor are compleated, and I have no one to complain to but you ; I hope you will speedily write me in what manner I can extricate myself from these difficulties, and establish my credit and reputation. Every particular of what I have now wrote has befallen me, God is my witness, and Mr. M'Gwire is acquainted with every circumstances. I am sorry that you, who are my patron, and the partaker of my afflictions, should at this time be at such a distance,

a distance, and that so much time should be taken up in writing and receiving letters. The rains are come on, and the seepoys wages daily increase. The affairs of the country fall every day into greater confusion, and every thing contributes to make my life a burthen to me; my hopes are in your favor, for God's sake make no delay; if you do, my affairs are utterly ruined. Now this remains that you, who are concerned in my welfare, come here yourself, or send for me to relate my sorrows to you.

In the Nabob's own Hand.

ALL affairs here are at an end, and the ruinous situation of my affairs, at this place, has rendered my case desperate. I have wrote to you every particular, and hope from your benevolence, that you will consider every syllable, and speedily redress my complaints.

*Extract of a Letter from the Nabob to
Mr. Vanfittart. Dated June 17, 1761.*

“**Y**ESTERDAY I sent you by the means of Mr. M'Gwire a letter, containing all the news, the contents of which you will understand. Last night Colonel Coote made an entertainment for the Dutch, and was making merry. His guards were stationed all round the Kella. About twelve at night Mharajah Ramnarain collected his people together, and sent word to the Colonel, that I had got my troops in readiness to attack the Kella in the morning, and that I would spare neither of them. The Colonel, being deceived by the snare, got his people ready. My Hircarras brought me intelligence of it, but I gave no credit to it. This morning Mr. Watts entered my private apartment, which is near the Zenana, calling out, “Where is the Nabob?” and then stopt. After him Colonel Coote, in a great passion with his horsemen, Peons, Seepoys and others, with a cooked pistol in each hand,



hand, came swearing * into my tent. It so happened, that I was asleep in the Zenana, and none of my guards were present. How shall I express the unbecoming manner in which the Colonel went about from tent to tent, with thirty-five horsemen and two hundred seepoys, calling out, “Where is the Nabob?” He left some of his people at the Zenana and Dewanconna, and went towards the south tent. The eunuch of the Serai and Mr. Watts prevented his entering, saying, the Nabob is asleep, and this is the private tent of the Zenana. The Colonel returned, and proceeded through my whole army, and seeing every one without arms, or any preparations, went back to the Kella. This base † man is ungrateful, treacherous, and intent only on mischief; and to support such a wicked man, who has not any fear of God, and has even forgot himself, is to give cause for continual animosities. This you never suspected

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* The original is, *uttering God-damnees*

† Ramnarain.

He is arrived at this pitch now, and God knows what lengths he will go to hereafter. In the beginning of the night, unknown to me, he struck ficcas, to show his own zeal, and be before hand with me, and passed them. At midnight he set on foot this disturbance. I appeal to your judgment, what shame and disgrace the news of this event will bring upon me in the minds of my enemies and equals, from this place to the bounds of Hindostan : a loss of honor is not to be retrieved. You have several times wrote me with great assurances of friendship, that the English troops were mine, and under my command. The meanest wretches would not have behaved as these people have done. In what manner will my troops behave to me, after seeing these things? Notwithstanding all the care I have taken, and still continue to take, it is impossible for me to prevent this traitor from breeding dissentions, and giving my life and honor to the winds. If you are determined to countenance him, my business is at an end ; you may then



then invest him with the Subahship, and I shall be contented with the continuance of your friendship alone. If you approve of continuing me in the Subahship, send orders without delay for his dismissal, and an enquiry into his accounts. There is great danger in delay, and it will tend to my detriment. If this traitor is allowed the least occasion or opportunity, like a snake half killed, he will never leave off his venom or invertebracy, but will throw every thing into confusion, and then all your endeavors will prove ineffectual ; there is an end to every thing. It is now the time to give me a definitive answer, and to send express orders upon this subject to the gentlemen, who have been, and are the dupes of his craft and deceit. As it was incumbent on me, I have now told you every thing ; the rest I leave to you and your resolutions.



*Extract of a Letter from Mr. M'Gwire
to Mr. Vanfittart. Dated June 17,
1761.*

“ **T**HIS morning I forwarded you a letter received last night from his Excellency, and this will inclose another, at which your surprize will not be greater than mine was, when the Nabob sent me advice of the treatment he had met with this morning from the Colonel. In my letter yesterday, I offered it as my opinion, either immediately to have Ramnarain dismissed, or to come yourself to settle matters here, otherwise the poor Nabob must fall. I have not heard any thing from the Colonel concerning this affair; or of his motives, further than that he expressed himself yesterday dissatisfied with the Nabob, for sending him word, that he would not coin the ficcas, or read the Cootba, till the guards were taken off the city gates. But no doubt he will write the account of his proceedings, and give you reasons for his conduct. I foresaw in some degree
the



the bad consequences of giving such ample powers to your commanders in chief. Few men can brook the losing any part of the authority wherewith they are vested ; and fewer still, who can support that authority with moderation. If you cannot come yourself, as I find the gentlemen at Madras will not send the regiment, have not you the power to recall him, and confine the Major to military operations only ? I am persuaded, this * Gentoo Rajah has laid a trap, into which the Colonel has fallen, by raising a report, that the Nabob intended to attack the city as last night. However, when the Colonel arrived at his tents this morning, there was not even his customary guard there ; and as there were not the least grounds or appearances of hostility on his Excellency's part, the engagement is deferred till another opportunity. I have sent the Nabob word, to bear with his treatment a few days longer till your answer arrives, and not to take any hasty determination thereon,

* Ramnarain.

thereon, that you will certainly bear him through ; but he apprehends daily insults from his own people, now they find he is insulted publickly by the English, by whom they were before kept in some awe. If you find yourself unable to carry the Nabob through his present difficulties, let the Rajah be declared Subah ; and let this miserable great man return inglorious, disgraced, and despised to Moorshedabad, there to enjoy a single day of quiet, to which he has been an entire stranger ever since his arrival here.

I AM told the Rajah struck siccas yesterday in the Mint ; if so (and I esteem my authority good) it is plain that he is certain of succeeding to the government of this place, for he had not permission from the Nabob to act in this manner.

HIS Excellency's Moonshce is just arrived : I asked him the purport of the letter he wrote the Colonel. He says it amounted to this ; “ That he would come into the Kella agreeable to appointment,



ment, but that his Zemindars would not acquiesce thereto, until our guards were taken off of the city gates, that they might have liberty to enter and go out when they thought proper; that this being granted, he would enter the Kella, and then and there strike the ficcas, and read the Cootba." But as the Nabob will transmit you a copy of the letter, I refer you to it.

I WILL now suppose the Nabob to have refused complying with the striking the ficcas, and reading the Cootba, as alledged against him (but before this comes to hand you will know to the contrary, by his having previous to this sent orders to Moorshedabad, Dacca, &c. to strike the ficcas on the 25th of this moon, being a lucky day, and of these his intentions he has wrote the King). Was this a reason for the Colonel's going armed to his tent? or has he authority to act in this manner unnoticed? Should he not have complained of the Nabob's having broke his promise to him, that the board might take notice of his behavior?

havior ? May not the Nabob with justice say, that he has purchased a stick to break his own head ? In short, Sir, it appears plainly to me, that the board meets with more insult from this step than the Nabob, who throws himself on them for protection.

HAD the Nabob formed the design of forcibly taking possession of the city, could we not have had Hircarras, to have given the earliest intimations of his first motions to this proceeding, without the Colonel's taking it for granted, and going, with two companies of seepoys, and a troop of horse, to the Nabob's tents, two guries before the day broke ?

THE Nabob continues to request you will give his letters a careful perusal, without showing them to your Moon-shee."

Copy of a Letter from Mr. M'Gwire to Mr. Vanfittart. Dated June 18, 1761.

"I WROTE you last night to enclose an account from his Excellency, setting forth the situation he was in, and
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the conduct of the Colonel towards him. This evening I was favored with a visit from the Colonel, in which he gave me the whole account, declaring, that the Nabob took every step, he could think of, to render the services he proposed doing him of no effect ; that they had agreed, at their last meeting, to strike the ficcas, and read the Cootba, as to-morrow ; that the Nabob was to come into the city and live there ; and that he proposed doing every thing, the Nabob could wish, to render him easy ; and, in consequence of this agreement, he, as well as the Nabob, had wrote circular letters of their intentions ; that he was surprized, instead of finding the Nabob resolute in this agreement, to receive a letter from him, setting forth, he would not come into the city, till he had taken off the seepoy guards ; and about the same time he received intelligence, that his Excellency had a consultation with his Jemmatdars ; and that he had further reasons to believe he intended to raise his forces, and attack

the city ; that he had taken the necessary precautions, the night before, to prevent any such design taking place ; and in the morning went himself to see the Nabob (taking with him his troop) to let him and his forces know, that he was not to be terrified. I observed to him, that the Nabob intended to keep to his agreement ; but his Jemmatdars were averse to it, unless they might come in, and go out, when they thought proper. He replied, he was so far from hindering them, that he had consented to put some of the Nabob's people Chowkeys on the gate, together with his own ; that the intention of keeping those Chowkeys there, was to keep out the rabble of his army. To-morrow was the day fixed upon for striking the ficcas ; and whilst the Colonel remained here, Mr. Watts arrived with a message from the Nabob, to whom I understand the Colonel sent him, with some terms of accommodations, as I imagine ; for after a private conference in my chamber, he told him when he came out, to return
to



to the Nabob, and know if he would strike the ficcas to-morrow. Here you have all I know of the matter.”

*Copy of a Letter from the Nabob to Colonel Coote. June 15, 1761 *.*

“**I**T was agreed, that on Tuesday, the 12th of the month Zeecada, I should enter the Kella, and publish with your concurrence the Cootba, and ficcas, in the name of his sacred and high Majesty; conformably thereto, I was resolved upon going to the Kella. The Rissaladars and Jemmatdars, with me, hearing of this, represented to me, that from the continuance of the guards of seepoys, at the gates of the city, their passing and repassing would be obstructed; that in the time of the Nabob Jaffer Allee Cawn, and the Nabob Nasirool-moolk, deceased, it never happened, that Telingas had the guard of the gates of the city, and that till those guards were taken off they would not go. For this

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* Referred to in the Nabob's and Mr. M'Gwire's Letters.

this reason I trouble you, that it is necessary to take off the Telingas from the gates of the city, that I may go to the Kella, and attend with you to the publication of the Cootba and ficcas : and these people, as they desire, may have free ingrefs and egrefs to and from me.”

JUDGING it absolutely necessary to put a stop, as soon as possible, to such dangerous animosities, as seemed to threaten the country with a new war, I lost no time in laying before the council, the representation I had received of this insult offered the Nabob, by Colonel Coote, and requested them to apply an effectual remedy to such disorders. The following is a copy of my letter delivered into council, the 26th of June.

GENTLEMEN,

“**I**T is with the utmost concern I lay before you two letters, received last night from the Nabob, containing a detail of some late occurrences at Patna, which serve to shew how much the present happy tranquility of these provinces



provinces is threatened by the effects of the violent prejudices, which were taken up soon after the late Nabob Jaffier Allee Cawn resigned his government, and have been so industriously propagated ever since.

THE urgency of the present circumstances, will not allow me time to enter into a detail of the several facts, which, when collected, will shew the truth of what I have above asserted; such a detail shall be my next work; and I will engage to prove, that those prejudices are the foundation of the present dangers. But first let us endeavor, as far as in us lies, to remedy the disorder, and guard against these dangers.

I SAY as far as in us lies, because our future orders may perhaps be as little regarded as our past. If the officers commanding our troops had attended to the instructions we sent them, the disputes at Patna had not continued till this time, nor been carried to so dangerous a length.



RAMNARAIN the Naib, or deputy of that province, has been ever remarkable for his capacity in the arts and intrigues of this country. He soon discovered how many had taken up prejudices against the present Nabob Cossim Allee Cawn, and who they were; he had a long account to settle of his three or four years administration; and fought, with too much success, to engage such as he knew to be already biassed against the Nabob, to support him in refusing or evading the rendering an account of his administration.

COMPLEAT translations of the Nabob's two letters shall be laid before you at our next meeting. As yet they have passed under no eyes but my own; because I think it highly necessary we should conceal, as much as possible, from the world, the extreme ill usage which the Nabob has received. Thanks to his moderation, and his entire dependence on our justice and good faith, the open hostilities, which seem to have been intended, were for that time avoided; what he
may



may have been forced to, before now, is a subject in my mind of much uneasiness.

THE most material circumstances of the Nabob's letter are these following. (Here follows a recital of them agreeable to the contents of the letter already entered.)

THIS, gentlemen, is the substance of the Nabob's letter, dated the 16th of June. The other, of the 17th, contains the relation of a fact, yet more surprising and alarming. (Here follows the account of Colonel Coote's behavior, in the Nabob's camp, as related in the Nabob's second letter already entered.)

THIS, gentlemen, is the fact as related in the Nabob's second letter, to which he adds a strong representation of the ill effects, which such an affront put upon him, must have on his reputation in all parts of India, and even among his own people; and he concludes, with requiring justice to be done him.

No account of this affair is yet arrived from the Colonel; but along with the Nabob's letters I received one from

Mr. M'Gwire, dated the 17th ; and another of the 18th, is just come to hand. Copies of such parts of these as relate to this affair I have annexed hereunto ; and as I regard that gentleman always as a member of the Board, and of the Select Committee, I think some regard is to be had to his opinion upon the state of affairs on the spot where he is, notwithstanding the Colonel's refusal to be guided by, or even to reply to the instructions we addressed to him and Mr. M'Gwire jointly.

THAT gentleman has however transmitted me, from time to time, accounts of what has been passing at Patna ; and observed to me in two or three different letters, that he suspected, from the many unreasonable applications made to the Nabob, and from other circumstances, that there was a settled and fixed design of bringing things to an extremity. I must own, that some of the measures taken here, and which shall be particularized in the Narrative I propose to lay before you, seemed to favor such an opinion,

nion ; yet I could never bring myself to believe, that prejudice could hurry men so far, as to make them careless of the present happy tranquility of these provinces in general, and of the Company's valuable possessions ; and desirous of putting these blessings, and the lives of thousands to risk, by opening a scene of fresh troubles, which could not fail to succeed the going to war with the Nabob without reason, and without provision made for the better regulation of the government after his death or expulsion, supposing one of these to be the consequence of our taking up arms against him, as it probably would. Besides these reflections, another consideration prevented my giving credit to there being really such a design, and which indeed would have led me to hold the design, and the authors, in contempt, if I could have persuaded myself such did exist ; I mean the repeated orders of the Select Committee to the commanding officer of the army to support and assist the Nabob, which I thought sufficient to prevent any
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bad effects. But this affair is grown more serious than I could have imagined.

WHEN I consider the frequent representations made to the Board, both by Major Carnac and Colonel Coote, of the little services to be expected from the Nabob's troops ; that he was incapable even of calling an ordinary Zemindar to account without our assistance ; when I consider also, that not only the city of Patna, but all the rest of the frontiers of the Nabob's dominions, are and have been defended by our troops, as Beerboom, Midnapoor and Chittagong, I find it almost impossible to persuade myself, the Colonel could really think the Nabob had a design to assault the city ; and if he could entertain such a thought, he should have let the Nabob begin the assault, in which he could not possibly have succeeded, and then the whole world would have been convinced that the Nabob was in the wrong.

BUT whatever might have been the Colonel's design, his folly, as related in the Nabob's second letter, was so conducted,

ducted, as might naturally have been expected to produce some disturbance in the Nabob's camp, and of that the immediate consequence would have been a general engagement between two armies, which I have always regarded as acting in concert as strict friends and allies : I have said, gentlemen, and I repeat it, that it was owing to the Nabob's moderation, and his entire confidence in our justice and good faith, that hostilities did not immediately follow this affront put upon him. But as I am doubtful what further measures may have been pursued to this time ;

I DO therefore, in the first place, solemnly protest against those whom it may concern, for all the bad consequences that may ensue before the directions of the Board hereupon can reach the army ; and declare myself not accountable for the blood that may be spilt, the disturbances that may lay waste the country, and the losses which the Company in particular may sustain in their possessions, by any measures which may be pursued
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in contradiction to the orders of the Select Committee, corroborated and confirmed by repeated letters from myself to the commanders of our army, to whom, as well as to the Nabob, I have continually recommended reciprocal respect and friendship ; and moderation in all differences of opinion.

AND in the next place I do propose, and most strenuously recommend to the board, to come to such resolutions, as may best tend to prevent any danger of this unexpected kind in future ; and particularly, that the charge of the army may be given to some officer who will obey our orders.”

THIS account of the situation of affairs at Patna being read in the council, occasioned very serious reflections ; for indeed there was great reason to fear, that as Colonel Coote had proceeded to so great a length against the Nabob, some other aggravation would have happened, and open hostilities have ensued. And as the King’s departure from Patna some days before had made it needless
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to keep so large a force there ; therefore to prevent further disputes with the Nabob, it was determined by the majority, that Colonel Coote and Major Carnac should be ordered down to Calcutta, leaving only four companies of infantry, and two battalions of seepoys, under the command of captain Carstairs, the senior officer of the Company's troops there, after major Carnac ; and that captain Carstairs should act entirely under the orders of Mr. M'Guire, the chief of the factory. Messieurs Amyatt and Ellis gave it as their opinion, that Colonel Coote should have the choice of coming down to Calcutta, or remaining at Patna ; but as this would not have removed the danger which threatened the province, from the ill-will those gentlemen bore against the Nabob, the motion was overruled by the majority, Messieurs Vansittart, Sumner and Smith.

THE foregoing representation of Colonel's Coote's sally to the Nabob's camp is such, as was immediately transmitted by

by the Nabob. It is just to insert the Colonel's own account of it.

Copy of a Letter from Colonel Coote to Mr. Vanfittart. Dated June 19, 1761.

“**I**N the postscript of my letter of the 13th instant, I acquainted you of the Nabob's having been with me ; and by the conversation I had with him, Rajebullub and Golam Allee Cawn that day, I had all the reason to expect, that I should soon have his affairs settled to the satisfaction of every body, and my own credit. I likewise informed you, of his agreeing to proclaim the King this day. He asked me, whether it would not be proper for him to come into the Kella on this occasion ? I told him, it was a very proper step, and what I had long wished for, as by that means I could be oftener with him than my health would permit me now. Upon which, he said he would come in on Wednesday the 17th ; and asked me, if I would pay him a visit that day upon his arrival ? I replied, that I would with pleasure ;



pleasure ; and that I would likewise wait on him the morning he intended proclaiming the King, receive a dress from him, and proceed in public with him to the Mosque ; and told him, that as I had wrote to all Zemindars of the country, to come in and settle their accounts with him, and had promised to write to the King by the Vakeel, I thought the more public we appeared together, it would have the greater weight in transacting his affairs ; on this occasion the Nabob, and his attendants above-mentioned, expressed their satisfaction in the strongest terms.

HE then asked me to have our see-poys taken off the gates of the city. In answer I told him, it surprized me he should still harp on that subject, as I had before given him sufficient reasons of their utility ; and added, that those see-poys were a part of his army, and under the command of captain Robertson, and were therefore ready to obey his orders ; that the directions I had given captain Robertson were, that they should stop
nobody

nobody belonging to the Nabob from passing and repassing into the city, only not to deliver the gates to an armed force without my order, and to keep their post quiet. That he had himself often declared he had no command over his own forces ; and that it was very well known, that those very forces had formerly an intention (and were near putting it in execution) to plunder the city ; that at this particular time I had but very few troops with me, and therefore, for his security as well as my own, I could not be too much on my guard. He likewise asked me, if he should bring in some of his principal people to reside with him ? I replied, by all means : they then took their leave seemingly very well satisfied.

I HEARD nothing from him afterwards till the 15th at night, when he sent me by one of his Chubdars a letter (the copy of which I now inclose you, together with others relative to the transactions here) requiring an immediate answer. The method of his sending the letter,

letter, and the purport of it surprised me not a little, and I sent for Golam Allee Cawn, who was then in the house, to come to my room, and asked him, if he knew the purport of the letter I had just received from the Nabob. He said, that before he left the Durbar, he heard there was a letter to be sent ; and by what he could find, he thought a very improper one after what had passed at our last meeting, and wished, that the Nabob had better advisers ; I told him I wished so too, and that I thought it must appear very odd, after I had wrote that morning to the King, and that I had sent circular letters to the Zemindars, to come and settle their accounts with him as Subah, to have the ceremony of proclaiming the King performed, in the capital of the province, by his servant, a Gentoo, whilst he, a Mussulman, remained in his camp in the neighborhood. This affair seemed to me to be of such consequence, that I desired to have nothing more to do with messages, but desired to see himself next day. When



I was informed that the Nabob would not come ; and by intelligence, that he had most of his Jemmatdars in consultation with him ; I, at night, sent to captain Robertson, to keep a good look out, and see that no mischief was done ; and I likewise sent Hircarras into his camp, to observe what passed, and bring me an account. At midnight I was acquainted, that their guards were doubled, and a great stir among them. This I find, by the following expression of Golam Allee Cawn, was partly occasioned by Coja Gregory, which he has since dropt in company with Mr. Watts, that he was not afraid to tell Coja Gregory, at the time he was ordering it, that it would be productive of no good, and must give offence to the Colonel. Next morning, in order to be better acquainted how things went, I thought it necessary to go with my usual attendants, to the Nabob's tent, to speak with him about those matters, and finding he was not up, I departed, leaving Mr. Watts with him, to let him know how sensible I was of his

his



his ill treatment, having always acted the friendly part by him ; and that by these proceedings, he was putting it out of my power to serve him : I then took a tour round his encampment, where I found every thing wore the appearance of tranquility.”

Extract of a Letter from Colonel Coote to the Governor and Council. Dated July 17, 1761.

“ **A** FEW hours before I left Patna, I had the honor of your letter of the 26th of June, together with copies of the Nabob’s and Mr. M’Gwire’s letters to the president ; as also extracts of the minutes of council.

As I have not been the first person, whose actions have been condemned unheard, I therefore cannot look upon it as a particular misfortune attending me alone. The Nabob’s disagreement with me, on account of proclaiming the King, which seems to be the source of the indignities shewn me, I should have before now related to the Board, had I

looked on it as an affair of any consequence to trouble them with ; but as a common occurrence, I related it in my private correspondence with Mr. Vansittart (in my letter of the 19th of June, to which I beg leave to refer you) whose weight with the Nabob, as it seemed to me, might have been sufficient to settle any little points of variance. But to my great surprize, the most scandalous constructions are put upon all my actions, and the greatest falsehoods, no sooner propagated than credited ; which word has any weight, will evidently appear by the letter before-mentioned, and what follows.

ON the 16th of June in the evening, having had different reports brought me, concerning the Nabob's proceedings, I told captain Eifer, I intended paying him a visit next morning, to endeavor to settle matters with him ; and at supper time, desired that gentleman to order the troopers, and my usual attendants, to be ready a little after day-light. About six o'clock next morning, I set out from
my

my quarters to the Nabob's (which is about two cofs) with about twenty-five European cavalry, and one company of seepoys, which happened, at that time, to be a fewer number than usually attended me, when I went upon public visits ; and I sent Mr. Watts on before, to let the Nabob know I was coming to wait on him. By the time I arrived at his tents it was near seven o'clock. The Nabob I find accuses me of going, in a violent manner, through his tents ; on the contrary, the place where I alighted from my horse was near the Durbar tent, and the place where I always had alighted ; and upon seeing Mr. Watts, I asked him where the Nabob was ? Who replied, he was asleep in his Zenana ; and as I had reason to suspect from my intelligence, the last twenty-four hours, that his intentions were not the best, I therefore alighted, took my pistols out of my holsters for my own security (as I seldom ride with a sword) but declare they were not cocked ; and I affirm, that I went no further than the Durbar tent,

where I sat down for a little time ; till, finding the Nabob did not come, I desired captain Eifer to order two troopers, to see that no body of troops came in at the back part of the tent ; and I now declare, that no one was placed on his Zenana. As the Nabob did not come, I went away ; and for the rest of this affair, I refer you to my letter to the President.

THE Nabob further accuses me, of having endeavored to oblige him to make up matters with Camgar Cawn, and the Curruckpoor Rajah. I declare, I never mentioned them to him in any other light than that, if he could not by any means take them, to make up matters with them ; and that I particularly refused to see their Vackeels ; and never had any correspondence with them, but by two letters, which I wrote them by the Nabob's desire ; copies of which have been transmitted to the President. With regard to the Dinagepoor people, I was petitioned by the sons of the late Rajah (whose country had been taken from them

them by the Nabob, after taking a nezzer of ten lacks of rupees) requesting, that I would speak with the Nabob in their behalf, and deliver their petition to him; which was all the part I acted in that affair. With respect to the * Rajah of Radshay, Mr. Batson desired I would endeavor to serve him with the Nabob, as he had been fleeced by the Royroyan, and his country taken from him. I accordingly represented it to him; since which representation, that poor unhappy man (tho' seventy years of age) has been tied up by the heels, and flogged

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with

* It ought to be remarked, that the person, whose sufferings are here so pathetically described, was not the Rajah, but Dewan or Steward to the Raunee of Radshay. This country (the richest in Bengal) had been put under the inspection of the officers of the Durbar, by Jaffier Allee Cawn, who managed the collections jointly with the Dewan. In the same state it now remained. I take notice of this, because it shews how great the Colonel's prejudices against Meer Cossim were, which could make him so readily swallow every story told him against the Nabob; since, in the present instance, it is plain, that he really knew not who the person was, whose cause he so zealously espoused.

with rattans almost to death. This shocking piece of cruelty, not being thought sufficient, he was put in irons, and remained in that situation, till Mr. Batson, thro' his humanity, with difficulty, by his interest, got him freed from his shackles ; but the poor old man still continues a prisoner. As to Myrza Kelly Allee, I never mentioned him to the Nabob, nor has any body done it by any authority from me. The only person, whose interest I urged, was the unhappy brother of Meer Jaffier, with whom I was formerly acquainted, and whom I found, on my journey to Patna, at Rajemahl, starving with a large family. I begged the Nabob to do something for him ; and he ordered him one thousand rupees *per* month, chiefly through the intercession of Rajebullub, who, by my request, used his interest on that occasion ; but that poor man has not profited by this in the least, having hitherto not received a single rupee. As there was a report spread, that the Fougedar of Hoogly was to be turned out, Mr.

Watts

Watts mentioned, in a private discourse with Rajebullub, that if the Nabob would give that post to Nundcomar, it might be the means of obliging some gentlemen, whose friendship might be acceptable to him ; and this was really hinted from a friendly view towards the Nabob.

THE public character I was in, obliged me to receive petitions, and to hear the complaints of every one. I therefore could not do less than inform the Nabob of them ; but since I found, that any applications through me were the sure means of hurting the poor people who complained (the Nabob having declared publickly, that whoever applied to the English was not his friend) I afterwards prevented their troubling me with their petitions.”

WHETHER the Nabob’s account of this affair be considered, or the Colonel’s own, it is a proceeding which can only be accounted for, from the effects of a strong passion ; unless it be presumed (which so extraordinary a conduct might justify)

justify) that the Colonel had a further view in this insult, to provoke the Nabob to some act of desperation, in order to have a pretence to bring about the measures planned for his destruction. Certain it is, the Nabob, in this instance, had too striking an example of the dangers he had to apprehend, from the violence of the party formed against him.

SECTION VII.

Major Carnac's Negotiations with the King; and his Disputes with the Board.

Major Carnac escorts the Shahzada to the Limits of the Province.—Two Letters from the Major, with Copies of his Addresses, to that Prince.—Mr. Vanfittart's Remarks on them ——Answer of the Council to Major Carnac.—Other Letters from Major Carnac, shewing his Disrespect to the Board.—Their Orders in Consequence.—Other Letters from Major Carnac to the Board, with Mr. Vanfittart's

Vanfittart's Remarks.—The Moderation of the Board on these Occasions.

WHEN the orders for Colonel Coote's and Major Carnac's coming to Calcutta arrived at Patna, the Major was attending the King, with a detachment, which was directed to escort him to the limits of the province. During this march, the Major applied to the King for a confirmation of the Company's grants and privileges, but in a stile, and with expressions, which tended to destroy the Company's influence, and the effects of the services which they had afforded him, by resting the whole merit of those services upon his own person and authority. This the King refused, but with the elusive pretence, that he would grant them, whenever a proper person should be sent with the usual tribute to receive them. At the same time, he made a voluntary offer of the Dewannee of the three provinces to the Company, upon the same conditions. I call it voluntary, because it no where appears

appears that it was solicited ; nor had Major Carnac any authority or orders to solicit such a grant ; which could have only served to render the breach between the Nabob and the Company still more irreparable.

THIS is not the only instance of Major Carnac's eagerness to raise his own importance above the level of his superiors ; it could only be by his advice the King addressed his letters, some to the Governor and Council jointly, but most to the Council only, without the Governor. An address, as contrary to the customs of India, where they have no idea of more chiefs than one, as to the Company's established order and method, which has always been for the Governor only, to carry on the country correspondence. The Major, although he approved of this innovation, when it lessened the authority of the Governor, yet could carry on a correspondence with the King in his own name, and promised to continue the same after his arrival in Calcutta. The same arrogance and self-

self-opinion, and the same tendency to subvert all the order of government, and to keep up the spirit of party, appears in many of Major Carnac's letters to the Governor and Council; nothing could be better calculated to that end, than his * remarks upon the orders sent him by a majority; and what else could be the design of those remarks? For he could not be ignorant, that in all councils, and particularly in all the Company's governments, the orders of the majority are to be respected as the orders of the whole Board. It is true, that Major Carnac was too much encouraged in these insults, on the authority of the Board, by some of the members themselves, who not only vindicated all his opinions, but afforded him an argument to disrespect their orders, by signing their dissents to the orders themselves, instead of minuting them in the consultations; an innovation as dangerous, as contrary to the rules of the government they belonged to.

* In his letter of the 29th of July, 1761, which follows in its order.

to. The truth of these remarks on Major Carnac's conduct, shall be judged of, by the following extracts from his letters, and the consultations of that time.

Extract of a Letter from Major Carnac to the Select Committee. Dated June 16, 1761.

“ **Y**OU have not been pleased, gentlemen, to allow me to have any thing to say or do with regard to Ramnarain ; but if it depended on me, I declare no consideration whatever should induce me to give my consent to removing a man, whom we are bound to maintain by engagements prior to, and consequently more obligatory, than any we may have since entered into with Coffim Allee Cawn. I have had hints before with regard to this unfortunate Gentoo, to which, if I would have listened, I might probably have turned my campaign to pretty good account ; but indifferent as my circumstances are, I thank God, I scorn enlarging them by
any

any means, that would not stand the most public inspection."

*Extract of a Letter from Major Carnac
to the Governor and Council. Dated
June 21, 1761.*

"**H**IS Majesty crossed the Caram-
nassa this morning. He made
such long marches from Saferam hither,
that it was impossible for me to keep
pace with him, and I was forced to leave
the army a march behind, in order to
get up with him. Yesterday evening, on
parting, he made me the most public
declaration of his particular regard for
me, and dismissed me with every mark
of honor, that could possibly be confer-
red on me. The accompanying is a
copy of two arzees I presented to him
last night, with the answers he wrote
in the body thereof with his own hand,
in the presence of Messieurs Lushington
and Ironside, as well as myself. He has
also wrote to you, gentlemen, with a
promise of issuing out his royal funnud,
confirming the Company in all their pre-
sent

sent possessions and privileges, provided the proper peshcush be paid. And in the same letter, has made you an offer of the Dewannee of Bengal, on condition of your being answerable for the royal revenues, of which he declares, he expects no account while Cossim Allee Cawn has the management thereof. I do not chuse to venture sending you this letter, for fear it should be lost, as I have no duplicate of it; but acquaint you with the purport, that you may be enabled to answer his Majesty; which answer he desires may be transmitted to him as soon as possible."

Copy of a Translation of an Arzee, wrote by Major Carnac to the King, with the King's Answer superscribed.

"**I**T is above five months since your Majesty honored the tents of your faithful servant with your presence at Gya; and from your gracious will and pleasure, and in consequence of the address and engagements of your servant (devoted to your high and sacred court) in

in full confidence graced the Kella of Azimabad, God is my witness, that from the commencement of my service, to this time, I have never deviated, in the most minute circumstance, from the engagement of fidelity which I made with your Majesty, but ever heartily attentive to my duty and loyal attachment, and ready to devote my life to your welfare : and regarding always the strict observance of my fidelity as my chief happiness ; to the utmost of my power I have obeyed your sacred commands ; and you have graciously declared, that you were pleased with the faithfulness of your servant, exalting me in honor above the clouds. Relying on that gracious disposition, which affords a shadow to the highest and the humblest of your slaves, I am in hopes, that what I shall represent to you will obtain your royal approbation. For this cause your servant, who is a dependent of the English Company, humbly petitions, that your Majesty will be pleased to order, that sunnuds be granted for all the zemin-

darrees and factories of commerce belonging to the Company in the empire of Indostan; at Calcutta in the Subah of Bengal and Madras, and Bombay, and the port of Surat in the districts of Decan. In these four places, which are the principal factories of the English Company, let the Company have the privilege of a mint in each; and let a funnud after the usual form be granted for the confirmation of the jagheer of Colonel Clive (who is one of the servants of the sacred court, and the patron of this faithful servant; whose attachment and devotion are notorious to the whole empire) which to this day he has been honored with by the royal donations. And let your Majesty look upon this your servant (who is a stranger in these regions) as one of the meanest of the servants of the court, nor forget or blot him from your remembrance; and to the last breath of my life I shall ever pray, that the Almighty may make your Majesty (whose dignity is equal to Solomon's) an honor and ornament to
the



the throne and everlasting empire of India, an administrator of justice and equity, and a protector of the people of God; greater than the great King Timor; that all the chiefs, and all the inhabitants of the world, may be held in obedience and fidelity by your royal clemency.

Superfcribed by the King.

THE purport of the arzee is fully understood. In consequence of the faithful attachment of that trusty servant, we agree and consent to it. Whenever the petition for it is sent in form, and the peshcush delivered to the royal Sircar, the petitioned funnuds we will graciously grant. Besides this, in consideration of the services of that servant, the Dewannee of the Subah of Bengal, on condition of paying the Malguzaree, according to the former amount, and a suitable peshcush shall be granted."



Copy of Mr. Vanfittart's Minute, and the Resolutions of the Board on the Major's Letter.

“ **T**HE President cannot help observing on the foregoing, that instead of setting forth the attachment which the English nation and the Company have always shewn to the Mogul government, and the sums they have expended in defeating the King's enemies, the Major's whole thoughts are employed in expressing his own services and fidelity ; in consideration of which he requests, that the indulgencies therein mentioned may be granted to the Company. He has not sufficiently considered, that it is the services of the Nation and the Company that should be pleaded and recorded on all such occasions, in order to increase their respect and reputation in foreign countries ; such pleas may be used in favor of that Nation and Company in future times, when they have any thing to apply for, which is a respect that will not be paid to any personal

sonal services. And further, that all those indulgencies he has applied for, were ordered from the Select Committee ; and indeed without such orders, he could not justify the applying for any thing ; yet he takes not the least notice of the Committee, nor the Governor and Council ; which the President mentions as one instance, among many others, of the great desire that most of our military officers have to conceal to the world, that they have a dependence on any civil power.

WITH regard to the King's offer of the Dewannee, the Board are of opinion, that were the Company to accept of it, it would only be a source of perpetual contest and ill-will with the Nabob ; but lest such an appointment might at any time hereafter be thought advantageous, we will for the present defer coming to any resolution thereon ; and only write the King in answer, that we shall soon send our requests in form."

Copy of a Letter from the Governor and Council (Messieurs Vanfittart, Amyatt, Ellis, Sumner and Smith) to Major Carnac. Dated July 6, 1761.

“ **W**E have received your letter of the 21st, enclosing copy of two requests you presented to the King, with answers subscribed by him. Those answers are very indeterminate, and far from expressing his consent. They are indeed no way so favorable, as we think we might have expected, considering the good faith, candor and attachment we have shewn him in his most distressed circumstances ; and the supplies of money he has received by our influence from the Nabob.

WE cannot help remarking upon the stile of your requests, as it may serve for your better guidance on future occasions. You have said much of your own services and attachment to the King, and neglected entirely so fair and just an opportunity of setting forth the reputation and power of our Nation, the attachment which the Company

pany has always shewn to the Mogul government, the sums they have expended, and the blood that has been spilt in defeating the King's enemies in different parts of India ; and the particular obligations which he in person owes to the government in Bengal. Such should be the stile of all public applications to foreign courts, in order that they may serve our nation for arguments in all future occasions.

WITH regard to the Dewannee of these provinces, the Shah's offer is as indeterminate as his answers to your requests ; and as it would be a source of continual jealousies between the Nabob and the Company, we do not think it adviseable to sue for it at this time."

Extract of a Letter from Major Carnac to the Governor and Council. Dated June 28, 1761.

" I N my last, I mentioned my having a letter for you from his Majesty, relative to his confirmation of all the Company's possessions and privileges; and



containing an offer to yourselves of the Dewannee of Bengal ; and my unwillingness to send a letter of such consequence by the ordinary conveyance. I have likewise several other letters for you from him, some of a public, and some of a private nature. For fear therefore any inconvenience should result from their being delayed, I shall give them in charge to ensign Swinton, with orders to convey them to you as fast as possible, if the Colonel will give him permission. I have done every thing for the service of my masters, that the little power you were willing to invest me with would admit of my doing. I have obtained a promise from his Majesty, under his own hand, of his royal confirmation of all your possessions and privileges, provided you pay him a proper pension, as has been always customary, in return for such grants. It rests with you, whether or not you will be at the expence of procuring them ; if you intend it, it is necessary you should, without loss of time, send an able and trusty Gentoo, to

to reside as your Vackeel with the court, and bring the business to a speedy issue."

Copy of a Letter from Mr. M'Gwire, Chief at Patna, to Major Carnac. Dated July 6, 1761.

"**I**N answer to my request for leaving two hundred rank and file, exclusive of the sick, Mr. Reed, by your directions, has acquainted me, that you have orders from the Colonel to include the sick; and that if I should still be of opinion, it is necessary to keep up the number of effective here, I must write to Calcutta for fresh orders, which will arrive before your departure, as you cannot execute your orders, for returning, in less than twenty days.

THE Colonel, you acquaint me, has sent orders to Safaram, for captain Hart to return directly; and you have, as I understand, sent the like to captain Champion, from whence it may be presumed, they will arrive here in about six days. In the mean time, preparations may be made for their embarking, and what is to

to

to detain them afterwards, I am at a loss to find out.

HOWEVER, Sir, that I may execute my orders, without loss of time, I request you will deliver over the command, ordered to remain here, to captain Carstairs ; they may be selected hereafter ; and as his Excellency is desirous of coming into the city, you will order the centries at the gates to be taken off.

I AM further to request, an old battalion may be left me in the room of the seepoys, commanded by captain Stibbert, as they are at present unfit for immediate service."

Copy of Major Carnac's Answer to the foregoing Letter. Dated July 6, 1761.

" **A**S the Board neither have, nor indeed have they the power to put me under your directions, I am not accountable to you for my proceedings here ; nor are you to prescribe the time, that may be requisite, for getting every thing ready for the transporting that part of the army, which I am to take down
with

with me. Of this you will allow me to be as good a judge as yourself, especially as there are two or three things to be done, before we set out, which you are probably unacquainted with ; both a general muster, and general court martial, to be held, which must employ a few days. You may be assured, however, no time shall be lost, as I am as impatient to get away from Patna, as you can be to have me away ; but, in the interim, I will deliver over the command to no one.

COSSIM ALLEE CAWN may come into the Kella when he pleases ; and I will be answerable for the security of his person, but I will not take off the guards that have been so long posted at the gates. Were that armed rabble about him to have free ingress and egress, some quarrel would inevitably happen between them and our people ; which, as well as any accident happening to the city, I will endeavor to prevent, during my continuance in it.

I THINK

I THINK captain Stibbert's battalion full good enough for any service they can be employed on, at this season of the year; and as they have been all along appropriated for the use of your factory, I shall certainly include them in the two thousand seepoys, directed to be left with you, unless I receive orders from the gentlemen below to the contrary."

Copy of a Letter from the Board (Messrs. Vanfittart, Amyatt, Sumner, and Smith) to Major Carnac. July 14, 1761.

"WE have received a letter from Mr. M'Gwire, dated the 6th instant, accompanied with a copy of your letter to him of the same date.

WE desire to know by what authority you have kept the command of the army at Patna; because, either in Colonel Coote or you, there is a manifest contempt of our order of the 26th ultimo, which directed, that both you gentlemen should return to Calcutta, and that the troops should be left under the command



mand of captain Carstairs, to follow the instructions of Mr. M'Gwire.

THE mustering the army, or holding a court martial, are not sufficient reasons, as both those services might be performed in Calcutta. We would ask you further, whether it is possible, that an officer, receiving orders for leaving two hundred Europeans, and two thousand seepoys, to assist the Nabob in settling the affairs at Patna, can, without a manifest intention of counteracting our determination, understand, that the sick shall be included amongst the Europeans, and the seepoys, left on service, to be the worst of the army?

IT is true, that we should avoid, as much as possible, putting an officer, entitled to a seat at the Board in military affairs, under the orders of any member of that Board, who, on such occasions, would sit below him; and this regard for your rank was one reason, among others, why we did not propose to you to remain at Patna, under the orders of Mr. M'Gwire; however, Sir, that you
may

may not think that rule invariable, you will give us leave to inform you, that we can, when the Company's service requires it, oblige any officer, in their service, to act under the directions of their Governor or factors, at any of their settlement.

NEITHER is it possible the service can be well conducted, on the independent footing which you are pleased to claim ; witness your little regard to the representations of Mr. M'Gwire, with respect to the choice of the troops to be left at Patna, as before-mentioned, although the Company's factory, and effects there, as well as the execution of the service for which those troops are to be left, is committed to the charge of that gentleman.

To put an end to these disputes, we direct, that on the receipt of this letter, you give over the command of the army to captain Carstairs, with orders to follow the directions of Mr. M'Gwire, to whom we have given the necessary instructions concerning the draughting of
of

of the troops to be kept at Patna, and the embarkation of the rest for Calcutta.

AND you will repair to Calcutta yourself, with all convenient speed."

Extract of a Letter from Major Carnac to the Governor and Council. Dated July 7, 1761.

"**I**N consequence of an order from Colonel Coote, I left the detachment, with which I had the honor to escort his Majesty at Safaram the 30th of June, and arrived here the 3d of July; on which the Colonel resolved to return to Calcutta, and was preparing to set out on the morning of the 4th. In the interim, he received a letter from the Board, which only served to confirm him in his resolution, and he gave me directions to execute their orders, which I shall do with the utmost expedition, being as averse as the Colonel, from having any hand in the business that is likely to be carried on. I esteem myself extremely happy in being removed from the command of the army, as I could
not





not have suffered it, whilst I was at the head thereof, to be employed on the purposes for which I find it is intended, without a direct breach of the declarations I have formerly made to you in regard to Ramnarain. I cannot help, on this occasion, laying before you two paragraphs, the one extracted from your letter to me of the 9th of February, *viz.*

“ WE observe, when Colonel Cail-
laud began his march to Patna, the be-
ginning of last year, he had particular
instructions from Colonel Clive, and the
rest of the Committee, to protect Ram-
narain, in case of the Nabob's making
any attempt against his person or honor.
We believe such an injunction at this time
unnecessary, as the present Nabob seems
to be well inclined towards Ramnarain.
But should it prove otherwise, it is our
resolution to have the same regard to the
former engagements in his favor, as was
then designed ; and therefore direct you,
in case of necessity, to protect Ramna-
rain against all violence and injustice,
that may be offered to his person, honor,
or

or fortune.” The other, from your letter of the 28th of April. “ We ever intended to preserve Ramnarain in the government of Patna ; and have therefore recommended it to Colonel Coote, to give him his protection in all circumstances.” Pray how are these reconcileable to the instructions addressed to Mr. M‘Gwire, of which I have seen a copy, attested to be a true one, by the sub-secretary. The force to be left at Patna, is expressly said to be, “ only to assist the Nabob in settling accounts with Ramnarain, and the several Zemindars of the Patna province.” After which is the following article. “ This you (Mr. M‘Gwire) are to do in general, to the utmost of your power, in such manner, as he may apply to you ; with respect to Ramnarain, it may be necessary to be somewhat more particular. Colonel Coote is already directed to assist the Nabob so far, as to suspend him (Ramnarain) from his government, until the accounts are settled, and to put the Nabob’s people in possession of all the revenues.

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nues. This you will conform to, and let him be brought to an adjustment of his accounts, by such measures, as the Nabob shall think proper." By this Ramnarain is absolutely left at the Nabob's mercy, and thrown out of that protection, which he has hitherto all along received from the English, and the continuation whereof, he had an undoubted right to expect in virtue of our engagements; and in return for the attachment he has ever shewn us. The President mentions, indeed, his having wrote to the Nabob in his favor, which may so far have an effect, as to prevent his daring directly to get him made away with; but he may easily manage to behave to Ramnarain, in such a manner, as to cause him to make away with himself; which those of his cast have been frequently known to do, when they have happened to be dishonored; be this as it will, the Mharajah is frightened beyond expression. He was with me the day before yesterday in the evening, and represented, with tears in his eyes, his surprize,



surprize, at finding himself abandoned by those, who had so long supported him. He declared, that as the Colonel was now gone, and I to follow him in a few days, he had no longer any refuge, and must inevitably fall a sacrifice to his enemies, if he continued here ; and therefore requested, with extreme earnestness, that I would let him quit the country, and have him safely conducted over the Soane. It is hard to pronounce of any other person's intentions, but we may reasonably presume the Nabob's designs cannot be very good, when he endeavors to secure the execution of them by the force of bribes ; I can produce proofs of the offers he made me, provided I would let him act as he pleased with regard to Ramnarain ; and few people will doubt, that the notes which Mr. Lushington and I received from Rajebullub, and which I keep by me, were sent by the Nabob's approbation, if not by his immediate direction. I am also well assured, very large offers have been made to the Colonel for the same ends, but he had

too much virtue and honor to accept them.”

Copy of the President's Minute of the 20th of July, 1761.

“**T**HE President observes, that as Major Carnac has nothing to do but to obey the orders of the Board, and has no right to question or dispute upon them; his letters of the 7th instant will require no answer.

IT seems, however, by the tenor of many of the Major's letters, and this in particular, that he thinks himself the higher power, and the Board accountable to him. Upon this principle, after quoting the former orders of the Select Committee, in favor of Ramnarain, he proceeds to demand, “ Pray how are these reconcileable to the instructions addressed the 26th of June to Mr. M'Gwire ?

ALTHOUGH the Board might do themselves justice upon an officer who thus forgets the respect due to them, yet we chuse rather to refer it to the determination



tion of our honorable masters, to whom it shall, at the same time, be made appear, that those orders in Ramnarain's favor, are now the strongest judgments that can be produced against him, as they are incontestable proofs of our desire to protect him, although the engagements which are so much talked of are nowhere to be met with. It shall be proved also, that those who profess the greatest friendship for Ramnarain, and who have permitted, if not encouraged him, in refusing or evading, for five months together, to render any account of his administration, are in effect his greatest enemies, by putting it out of our power to protect him longer in so shameful an injustice, in which he has already been upheld, until he had well near carried his point, that of bringing the Nabob to ruin, by a disgraceful residence at Patna, at an immoderate expence, without any income from the province. This, it is imagined, will hardly be said to be the intent of the supposed engagements; and therefore, if any have made Ram-



narain believe the meaning of them would be so far stretched, it is they that are the cause of his tears ; and it is they that must answer for his unhappy death, if he should destroy himself, as Major Carnac seems to apprehend. It is, however, more than probable, that he will not prove quite so desperate ; and that when he is convinced he is not independent of the Subah of Moorshedabad, he will do what he ought to have done five months ago ; that is, render to the Nabob an account of his administration, and in such case he will be treated better than he pretends to expect, better a great deal than he deserves.

HE has yet hopes, that Major Carnac may keep the command of the army. A delay of twenty days, and Colonel Coote's coming down to Calcutta, might produce fresh orders. A man of Ramnarain's disposition, will construe such a possibility into a certainty ; and while he can hope for such a protection at the head of our army, he will continue to think he has a right to an unlimited protection, and



and continue to evade rendering the Nabob any accounts.

MAJOR Carnac declares himself very freely on this occasion, and gives at the same time a fresh instance of the respect he has for our authority. This passage of his letter of the 17th is worthy the observation of the Board, as well as of our honorable masters, who seldom write to their Presidents and Councils with so great an air of superiority. “ I esteem myself extremely happy in being removed from the command of the army, as I could not have suffered it, whilst I was at the head thereof, to be employed on the purposes for which I find it is intended, without a direct breach of the declarations I have formerly made to you in regard to Ramnarain.”

IF more instances of a like nature are wanting, they may be seen in many of the Major's Letters ; particularly in one to the Select Committee, dated the 16th of June, 1761. “ His own opinion and declarations shall be the rule of his actions, and shall supersede the orders of

the Board.” If our declarations had merited a small part of his attention, Ramnarain would not have been deceived so long. The repeated orders of the Select Committee for obliging him to settle accounts with the Nabob, shew, that it was never our intention to screen him from that just demand ; the first of those orders was in a letter to the Major, so long ago as the 7th of March, 1761. It is true, we did not fix a day for Ramnarain’s rendering his accounts, which is a proof of the regard the Board have shewn him, and of the moderation with which they have acted throughout the whole affair.

WEEK after week, we expected to hear that the accounts had been laid before the Nabob ; instead of that, excuse came upon excuse. At length, on the 17th of May, we sent the Colonel particular directions in what manner to have the accounts settled ; that Ramnarain should be regarded as the deputy of the government of Moorshedabad ; that he should give the Nabob a faithful account



count of his outstanding balances, and the Nabob send his own people to collect them. Who would have imagined, that after this, fresh evasions would be admitted for two months more, notwithstanding the Nabob's entreaties and representations of the ruin, in which he must soon be involved, by his useless expences ?

THE President wrote more than once to Ramnarain, in consequence of the resolutions of the Secret Committee, that our protection would depend upon his rendering a just account to the Nabob ; but he is lately advised by Mr. M'Gwire, that Ramnarain, instead of collecting his revenues in a regular manner, has taken, or rather accepted from the Zemindars, large sums by way of presents, which not being brought to account, makes their balances appear much larger than they really are, and his own as much less. An unwillingness to confess this fraudulent attempt, seems to be the true cause of his seeking so many shifts and evasions.

MUCH

MUCH more shall be said on this subject hereafter, in order to prove to our honorable masters, that the resolutions lately taken by the Board (or as Major Carnac politely expresses it, the business that is likely to be carried on) were absolutely necessary for preserving the present tranquility, for maintaining the constitution of the government of these provinces, and fulfilling, on our part, the treaty subsisting between the Company and the Nabob, as he has so faithfully done on his."

Extract of a Letter from Major Carnac to the Governor and Council. Dated July 29, 1761.

"**I**NSTEAD of meeting your thanks, as I imagined, for the great diligence with which I executed your orders, I received, to my great surprize, a letter of censure from you, dated the 14th instant; but it gives me the less concern, as I perceive so few have subscribed their assent thereto.

I HAVE

I HAVE nothing further at present to observe to you, but that you can never oblige a gentleman to do what he thinks unjust and unreasonable, so long as he has it in his option to quit the service ; and it is a fortunate circumstance we have this in our power, in a part of the world where, by reason of the extreme distance from redress, we are exposed to such frequent ill treatment, as I in particular have experienced ; and from no other demerit, that I am conscious of, but having been impolite enough to declare my disapprobation of the late measures ; yet in this I am not singular, as I verily believe, if the whole Board could be assembled (as in affairs of such importance it seems absolutely requisite that they should, or at least their opinions be collected) the half, if not the majority, would be found to concur with me in sentiment."

*Extract of Mr. Vansittart's Minute of
the 3d of August, 1761.*

“ **T**HE President begs leave to observe on reading Major Carnac's letter, that he mentioned to Mr. Ellis some time ago, that his signing his dissent to any letter from the Board, is neither customary nor proper ; that the resolutions of the majority of the Board are to be deemed the resolutions of the Board, and to be signed as such by the whole Board ; that any member, who dissents from the opinion of the majority, is to enter his dissent, and his reasons, upon the body of the consultations ; that the signing dissents in the letters is improper ; because it makes known to the world the different opinions of the members ; by which means it may be the cause of promoting a misunderstanding ; and it also exposes the Board to remarks, such as Major Carnac has not failed to take the occasion of making.

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THE President further observes, that he apprehends Major Carnac has not confined his remarks on the opinions of the several members of the Board to his answers to our letters, but has made them known even to the Shah : and this he takes to be the reason, why the eight letters laid before the Board are addressed some to the Council of Calcutta only, and others to the Governor and Council jointly. The King could not have addressed his letters thus, from any custom or principles of his own, because in all parts of the Mogul empire, they never know or correspond with but one chief ; and all other forms of government they will regard as a weakness, of which they will endeavor to take advantage, as is the Shah's design in the present case ; and it is no doubt, in conformity to this system of the country government, that the Company have made it a rule in all their settlements, that the country correspondence should be carried on through the channel of the Governor alone."



*Extract of the Translation of a Letter
from Major Carnac to the King.*

“ **T**HE letters, which you some time ago was pleased to honor the Council with on certain affairs, were not sent, for want of a trusty person to be charged with them. On my arrival at Patna, I found Colonel Coote was preparing to set out for Calcutta; I therefore delivered them to him, who will carry them safe to the Council, who will be greatly honored by the receipt thereof. The Colonel will, with his whole heart and soul, exert all his power and influence that your royal orders may be complied with, and speedily send most respectful arzees in answer thereto from the Council. At this writing your servant is preparing to set out for Calcutta in a day or two; and by the help of God will, in conjunction with the Colonel, exert his utmost to have every thing accomplished agreeable to your Majesty's orders. I will not delay to acquaint your Majesty of what may be determined

determined on by the Colonel's and my advice."

*Extract of Mr. Vanfittart's Minute of the
22d of September, 1761.*

“ **W**ITH respect to withdrawing Major Carnac from the command of the army, reasons were given at the time the resolutions were taken on the consultation of the 29th of June, and the same reasons still subsist ; for Major Carnac declared, no longer ago than last Thursday, at the Select Committee, that he would be the judge of what orders he might receive from the Board. The President observes, that no service can be carried on, where there is more than one authority ; if an officer is to be the judge of the orders he receives from the Board, the execution of those orders will depend on his judgment, and not on the judgment of the Board.”



Copy of Major Carnac's Answer to the foregoing.

“**T**H E President has been pleased to alledge, in justification of his having recalled the Major from the command of the forces at Patna, the Major's inveterate hatred against the Nabob, and his declaration, that he would be the judge of the orders he received. For the answer to the first, he refers to his letter which he now delivers in ; and with respect to the other, he begs leave to observe, that he is truly concerned orders of such a nature have been given, as to oblige him to make that declaration, and to repeat now to the Board, that he had rather incur the charge of disobedience, than bring dishonor upon the nation, and disgrace upon himself and the forces under his command.”

SUCH repeated insults from an officer to the Governor and Council, under whose orders and authority he held his commission, highly merited some public censure, and the world may be surprised

prized that he escaped it. The same majority of the Board, who gave the orders to Major Carnac, and who were thus insulted, might, and in justice ought to have dismissed him from the Company's service; but we forbore making use of the power which was in our own hands; and referred it to the Court of Directors, to take such notice of these proceedings, as might prevent the like disorders in future. On this and all occasions it will be found, that I have chosen the most moderate measures, and particularly avoided shewing any marks of resentment against those who had violently opposed me; judging this to be the most likely method of abating the rage of party.

SECTION VIII.

Mr. Ellis's Appointment to the Chiefship of Patna ; and his Disputes with the Nabob.

Mr. Ellis succeeds to the Chiefship of Patna.—His Instructions from the Board.—Debate upon the Instructions.—Mr. Ellis arrives at Patna.—He gives Orders for seizing one of the Nabob's Officers.—Letter from the Nabob to Mr. Ellis, and his Answer.—He seizes another Officer of the Government, and sends him to Calcutta.—The Nabob's Letter to Mr. Ellis on that Subject.—Letter from the Nabob to Mr. Vansittart.—Mr. Ellis sends a Detachment of Seepoys, to search the Fort of Mongheer for Deserters. —— Informations given to the Nabob upon this Proceeding.—The Seepoys being refused Admittance, take Post near the Fort, and continue there three Months.—Lieutenant Ironside searches the Fort, and the Seepoys are recalled.—Two Letters, giving

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an Account of a Dispute between Mr. Ellis and the Naib of Patna.—Many Letters on the Subject of these Disputes ; and the Debates of the Board upon them. —Mr. Vanfittart's Conduct in the Course of these Debates.—Alarms occasioned by these Disputes.—An Attempt to raise Suspensions against the Nabob.—Jealousy on both Sides.

HARDLY had the alarm, occasioned by Colonel Coote's disputes with the Nabob at Patna subsided, when a * considerable change happened in the Council, with this additional misfortune, that it brought Mr. Ellis into the chiefship at Patna ; an event from which I dreaded bad consequences, foreseeing he would set on foot continual disputes with the Nabob's people ; and I did my utmost to guard against this danger, by

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* The change in the Council was occasioned by the dismissal of Mes. Sumner, M^cGwire, and Playdell ; and soon after Mr. Smith likewise resigned, and went to Europe. In their places Mes. Cartier, Hastings, Johnstone, and Hay, came into Council.



the clear and explicit instructions I proposed to be given him; and which, after a long debate, were approved by a majority of the Board, determined by the casting voice of the President. The instructions proposed, and the opinions given, were as follows.

Instructions for Mr. Ellis.

“CAPTAIN Carstairs, the commanding officer of the troops at Patna, is ordered to act under your directions. The reason for our keeping up so considerable a force there, is to be in readiness to assist the Nabob, in reducing to obedience and good order any Zemindars of his dependance, that may give him cause of complaint, by withholding their rents, fomenting disturbances, or otherwise. Our honorable masters, sensible of the impropriety of protecting a servant against his masters, and of the bad consequences that may result therefrom, have cautioned us very particularly on that subject, in their last general letter. We think such their caution
very

very judicious, and that nothing but jealousy and ill-will, between the Nabob and the Company, can be the consequence of our interfering in the support of any Zemindar, or other person holding office, grant, or authority, under the government. It is expressly contrary to our engagements with the Nabob ; and besides, must end in the ruin of the person so protected, who, presuming on our interposition, throws off his respect to his master, and consequently shuts up all the ways of accommodation. Every one that has been admitted under such protection, from the beginning of Jaffier Allee Cawn's government, may be quoted as an instance of the truth of this observation. We enjoin you, therefore, not to interfere, directly or indirectly, in any affairs of the country government, or with the people belonging to it ; but when the Nabob applies to you for the assistance of any of our forces, to be sent to any part of the country, under his jurisdiction, for the execution of any service, you are to take the opinion of

the officer commanding our troops, whether the force under his command is sufficient for the execution of the service proposed, or what part of it is requisite to be sent. If he judges this force sufficient, you are to direct him to proceed, and do his utmost for the execution of the said service ; or if the whole force is not necessary, to send such a detachment as he judges sufficient. But if the commanding officer should give his opinion, that the force, under his command, is not sufficient for the execution of the proposed service, then you are to transmit to us the most speedy intelligence, that we may send you a reinforcement. After the Nabob's departure from Patna, you are to give the same assistance to the Naib or Deputy, he may leave there, for the management of the affairs of his government.

Debate upon the foregoing Instructions.

SOME of the Board being of opinion, that Mr. Ellis should have the power of judging of the nature of the services, on
which



which the Nabob might request the English troops to be employed ; and, in consequence of that judgment, to comply with his request or not ; upon which the question being put,

M R. Hastings thinks he should not have the power, but represent to the Council, if he thinks the Nabob requires our troops upon any service hurtful to the English character, as he has no conception of any such service.

M R. Smith is of the same opinion.

M A J O R Carnac thinks, that Mr. Ellis should be a judge of the nature of the service, as well as the sufficiency of the force required for that service.

M R. Amyatt thinks, that the putting our chief at Patna, with the troops committed to his charge, under the orders of the Nabob, is dishonorable to our masters, an indignity to the Board, and an unprecedented case till the chiefship of Mr. M'Gwire ; when Mr. Amyatt dissented to it, in the proceedings of the Select Committee the 18th of June. The power of calling for our forces

whenever, and for what service he pleases, without the chief's being allowed to judge of the nature of those services, may be attended with such fatal consequences, that it would be the height of imprudence to entrust any Nabob with it, especially one who we have too much reason to suspect, would be glad of an opportunity to make an ill use thereof, in order to throw an odium upon us. Mr. Amyatt cannot, therefore, subscribe to the instructions now before the Board, while they contain an article of such dangerous tendency.

COLONEL Coote is of the same opinion with Mr. Amyatt.

THE President approves of the orders as they now stand, being, in his opinion, best calculated to prevent disputes, and most agreeable to our honorable masters intentions."

MR. Ellis arrived at Patna, about the middle of November, just after the Nabob had marched from thence for the Bouge-poor country. Mr. Ellis's prejudices against the Nabob's promotion, and disaffection

affection to his person, had been too publicly expressed, and had been made too much the subject of his common conversation, to escape the Nabob's notice long before this period; and in effect had greatly alarmed him, for the influence, which such a temper might have on his affairs. His suspicions were soon confirmed by an order sent to captain Carstairs, a very short time after Mr. Ellis's arrival at Patna, to seize and imprison an officer of the government, named Munseram, on a complaint of a Gomastah of the factory. The Nabob was then at Arwel, about forty miles from Patna, a distance not so great, but that he might (had that respect been deemed due to him) have been acquainted with the complaint, before such extremities were proceeded to; and neither the Company's privileges, nor the English honor, suffered by such a condescension. Captain Carstairs, either regarding it in this light, or, upon enquiry, finding the complaint of less consequence than it had been made to appear



pear by the Gomastah, evaded the execution of this order, but acquainted the Nabob with it, and contented himself with desiring him to reprimand Munferam in the following letter, dated the 31st of January, 1762.

“ I HAVE received a letter from Mr. Ellis, the chief of the factory at Patna, to this purport : “ That one Munferam Hirçara, in the Purgunnah of Arra, has stopped some opium belonging to Mr. Hay, notwithstanding there was a dultuck with it, and will not let it pass ; that I must therefore take him prisoner, and freeing the opium from his hands, dispatch it forwards.” Regarding your Excellency’s favors, I have judged it not proper to imprison Munferam ; but submit this matter to your Excellency ; and request, that you will write a reprimand to the said Munferam, and command him to release the opium. I request a speedy answer to this address, that I may write accordingly to Mr. Ellis.”



THIS forbearance of captain Carstairs made no difference in Mr. Ellis's intentions, nor prevented the Nabob from seeing to what lengths he would go on greater provocation ; nor was he long without receiving fresh arguments for this opinion.

A COMPLAINT having been made to the Nabob against Mr. Gray, the Company's resident at Malda, by the Naib of the province of Purnea ; the Nabob sent a copy of the complaint to Mr. Ellis, and desired him to take cognizance of it. His letter and Mr. Ellis's answer I subjoin hereto ; as nothing can set the behavior and temper of each in so fair and just a light.

From the Nabob to Mr. Ellis. Dated
January 22, 1762.

“ SOME time ago you wrote to me concerning the ill behavior of the officers of Purnea. At this time I am informed, by a letter from Meer Sheer Allee Cawn, the Naib of Purnea, of great acts of oppression committed by
Mr.

Mr. George Gray, chief of the factory at Malda, of his seizing and imprisoning the Peshkar of Heeramun, the Zemindar and Wadadar of Tajpoor, and sending Seepoys and Europeans to purchase grain, and erect new factories in every district of Purnea. A copy of this letter, with a letter written by that gentleman to Sheer Allee Cawn, I send you enclosed, that you may be informed of the particulars. Since the ties of friendship and alliance have been established between me and the English Company, and our interests in this country are united, if you imprison my people in this manner, to the ruin of my lands, and the impoverishing of my revenues, such a proceeding is very foreign from the friendship and good understanding which should subsist between us. I desire that you will take this affair into consideration ; and, regarding our several concerns as united, direct me how I am to act and it shall be done accordingly. When you have read Mr. Gray's letter please to return it."

Copy



Copy of Mr. Ellis's Answer to the above.

Dated February 4, 1762.

“YOUR Excellency’s letter, enclosing a letter from Mr. George Gray, and the copy of one from Meer Sheer Allee Cawn, I have read with great pleasure, and have understood all the particulars. I have before this repeatedly represented to you the complaints, which have been made to me against the Zemindars of Purnea. Now Mr. Gray’s letter has clearly proved the insolence of the Zemindars, and the justice of my complaints. It is fact, that the insolence of the Zemindars and officers in every quarter exceeds all bounds, and that the Company’s business has been entirely obstructed and ruined. It appears from Mr. Gray’s letter, that he complained to Sheer Allee Cawn twice or thrice against the Zemindars ; but receiving no answer nor redress, he was under the necessity of taking such measures. At this time, a person in the districts of Mongheer having seized some salt-

salt-petre of the Company's, I have taken him prisoner, and sent him to Calcutta. Of this I inform your Excellency. Having learnt the contents of Mr. Gray's letter, according to your orders I send it back inclosed."

THE Nabob was so much provoked by this letter, and the fixed resolution, which he now plainly perceived in Mr. Ellis, to take every occasion to affront him, that he from this time renounced all correspondence with him.

THE person mentioned in Mr. Ellis's letter, to have been sent a prisoner to Calcutta, was an officer employed by the Nabob as collector of the rents of Punchmahla, in the districts of Mongheer. His name was Coja Antoon. It was his misfortune to be an Armenian, and an agent of Coja Gregore (an Armenian also) whom the Nabob had treated with some marks of confidence and esteem. He had been accused of purchasing five maunds* of salt-petre. For this he was seized, and brought prisoner to the factory

* A maund is a weight of eighty pounds.

tory at Patna, by a party of Seepoys sent from thence for that purpose. The charge could not be denied, he confessed that he had bought the salt-petre, and for the use of the Nabob. But as the sole privilege of purchasing that article in the Bahar province had been granted by a perwannah from the former Nabob, and confirmed by the present to the Company, this was deemed an infringement of the English rights, equivalent to a robbery, and was termed such. Rajah Rajebullub, the Naib of Patna, repeatedly and earnestly solicited Mr. Ellis's clemency in behalf of the unhappy delinquent; but his remonstrances against this insult on the government could not move Mr. Ellis; an example was to be made of such a crime, and such an offender; and he was sent down to Calcutta, a prisoner and in irons, -to be punished as he deserved. Lest however this crime should not have sufficient weight, another charge was likewise discovered, and sent after him, viz. that he had treated with contempt the Company's



pany's dustuck on a certain occasion, by giving the person who carried it a certificate of the goods, having been duly passed by the principal chokey; and though upon enquiry it appeared, that he neither stopped the goods, nor detained the dustuck, yet this was made use of as an aggravation of his former offence, and a fresh proof of the Nabob's disregard of our privileges, and the insolence of Armenian authority. I wish I could add, that the blame of this proceeding had been confined to Mr. Ellis, nor received a sanction from the Board. True it is, that they declined inflicting any punishment on him themselves. By their orders he was remanded to Patna, and from thence (after a confinement of three months, and a journey of above 900 miles, with all the horrors which the prospect of an ignominious death, or at least the loss of his ears, could give him) was delivered over to the Nabob, who was desired to punish him.

How severely the Nabob felt the effects of this insult, will appear from the following



following letter, which was the last that he ever wrote to Mr. Ellis *

“ **Y**OUR letter I have received, you write that, “ the Company’s Gomastahs have the free liberty of trading every where ; that it is needless to enumerate particulars ; that you desire me to write a perwannah to Sheer Allee Cawn, to forbid his officers to stop any goods of the Gomastahs in Purnea.”

I HAVE just received intelligence, that you have sent a large force, and carried off a collector of the government who was at Punchmahla, in the districts of Mongheer. If that person had committed any fault, it would have been proper to have informed me of it, since my interests and the Company’s are united. It ill became you to seize an officer of my government, who was intrusted with affairs of great consequence,

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and

* The date of this letter does not appear, but it must have been wrote about the 4th or 5th of February, and before the receipt of Mr. Ellis’s to the Nabob just mentioned.

and then to desire a letter to Sheer Allee Cawn. Since my servants are subjected to such insults, my writing can be of no use. You are the master, send for any of my officers, Zemindars, Tahsildars, or Fougedars, where and whomsoever you please. How much my government and authority are weakened by these proceedings I cannot describe."

IT may not be amiss to insert in this place, an extract of a letter which I received from the Nabob about the time that these disputes arose ; which will serve to shew, how little the Nabob was disposed to enter into such contests, or to obstruct the Company's trade or privileges. It must be remembered, however, that we had no complaints of the Company's business being interrupted either at Malda which borders on Purnea, or in any other part of the country, though their name has been so freely made use of on this occasion. But the truth is, every struggle made by the country people against the oppressions and extortions of the private English Gomastahs,



maistahs, was immediately construed as an attack upon the Company's rights.

Extract of a Letter from the Nabob to the President. Received February 10, 1762.

“ **A**T this time Mr. Ellis, the chief of Patna, writes, that the Purnea and other Fougedars molest the Company's business. I have, therefore, wrote expressly to the Purnea, Fougedar, &c. not to interrupt the Company's trade, but always to assist them. I before wrote to the Bengal Fougedars, and others, not to impede the Company's business in any respect, and to advise you of any thing that came before them. I am at a great distance, therefore, should any thing happen, write to the Fougedars, and others, and they will act as shall tend most to benefit the Company's trade, and the business of my Subahdarree.”

THE next subject of contention arose from an information given Mr. Ellis, that two of our deserters had taken



shelter in the fort of Mongheer, then governed by Shujan Sing, as Naib to Coja Gregore. Mr. Ellis applied to Raja Rajebullub, the Naib of Patna, for an order to Shujan Sing to deliver up the deserters, or suffer the fort to be searched for them ; and contenting himself with a verbal reply from Rajebullub, that he would write to Shujan Sing upon the subject, immediately sent a company of seepoys to search the fort, and take the deserters.

W H E T H E R the Rajah did actually send Mr. Ellis word, that he would write to Shujan Sing, and neglected it, or the messenger (no uncommon practice of Durbar attendants) had invented that answer for him ; certain it is, that no such order was sent, nor indeed had he any authority to send one, the fort of Mongheer being garrisoned by the Nabob, and entirely independent of the Naib of Patna. In effect, when questioned by the Nabob on that head, he not only denied his having wrote such an order, or that he had ever been applied to for one, but



but by his letters to the Nabob, at the beginning of the affair, appears to have been almost the first that gave notice of it, and with expressions of the greatest alarm, on account of so violent a proceeding. He acquaints the Nabob with his remonstrances to Mr. Ellis against it; his entreaty to him, to recall the seepoys, and that gentleman's declaration in reply, that he would not recall the seepoys, till the serjeant who commanded them had been admitted into the fort.

THESE particulars will appear from the following letters.

Extract of a Paper of News sent to the Nabob from Patna. Dated February 4, 1762.

“FOUR gurries before night, two or three companies of seepoys and Europeans, with their baggage, passed by land through the Kella, by the eastern gate. God knows what is their design, and whither they are going. In consequence thereof Sedderam, the Dewan of



* Goorgheen Cawn, came to the Mharajah ; and they have been sitting together for two hours, in close debate upon this matter. The Mharajah has strictly enjoined Laal, and Rambuksh, and the other Hazzarees, and the † Telingas of Goorgheen Cawn, not to admit any European or English seepoy within the city, but to be on their guard. Conformably to the orders of the Mharajah, all the Hazzarees, and the seepoys of Goorgheen Cawn, are on their guard.”

Translation of a Letter from Raja Raje-bullub to the Nabob. Copy received in Calcutta, February 22, 1762.

“ SHUJAN SING, the Naib at Mongheer, has wrote to Sedderam, the Naib of Coja Goorgheen Cawn, that some time ago the seepoys surrounded the fort ; but not succeeding, they went to two gardens, which are near the fort, to the northward and southward ; and from thence to Seetacoond (which is situated near the river) where they

* Coja Gregore.

† Seepoys.



they yet remain. Shujan Sing represented to them, that there were no Europeans in the fort, and carried two of their own people into it, and shewed them every place about it; and tho' no Europeans were to be found, they were not satisfied, but wanted to send two serjeants. But Shujan Sing apprehending they might have some view, would not permit the serjeants to enter the fort; this account I sent to Mr. Ellis, thro' the means of Golaum Mahomed Cawn, to know why they acted in this improper manner; and that, at several times, he was dispatching many Europeans and seepoys from Patna, towards Mongheer fort; on which account the inhabitants were much terrified, and had run away; that those who lived round Mongheer were driven to great distress; and the Zemindars, seeing all this, were dilatory in paying the revenues; and desiring to know what were his intentions; that it was better for him to recall his people; and if, after enquiry, the Europeans should be in the fort,



fort, I would get them, and deliver them up. Mr. Ellis answered plainly ; “ Till the serjeants go into the fort, I will not recall the men.” I apprehend he will shortly send more people. This I have represented for your information.”

*Copy of a Letter from Mharajah Raje-
bullub to the Nabob. Dated March
26, 1762.*

“ **Y**OUR Excellency’s perwannah, signifying, that formerly Mr. Ellis wrote, and now Mr. Vanfittart has wrote also, that when the company of seepoys went towards Mongheer, I gave a letter in the name of Shujan Sing, the Naib of that place, for the search and examination of the said fort ; that your Excellency is amazed at this information ; that I neyer gave you the least notice of this affair ; and that I should inform you fully of the truth of this matter, I have received with pleasure.

I KNOW not in truth any thing of this affair, neither did any person ever demand, or I write such a letter ; had any
such



such demand been made, what could have induced me to have given such a letter ? Or had there been an absolute necessity for me, I would have first acquainted you with the particulars, and waited your orders upon them. This affair is utterly false and untrue.”

Loose as the country discipline is, it required little sagacity in Shujan Sing to discover, that it was a part of his duty, as well as a proper caution of self-security, to deny the party an entrance into the fort, which he did by shutting the gates, and threatening to fire upon them, if they approached within gun-shot of the walls. This was complained of as the highest excess of insolence in Shujan Sing ; and the Nabob was desired to punish him, for doing what he would have deserved to lose his head, had he not done.

ON this weak pretence was the party continued at Mongheer, for three months. Mr. Ellis (supported by the Board) insisted on their being admitted to search the fort ; and the Nabob, as tenaciously refused

refused it, exclaiming all the time against our breach of faith, and continual and unprovoked acts of hostility against him. At length, yielding to my persuasions, he consented, that any person sent from me might search the fort. This commission was given to lieutenant Ironside, who accompanied Mr. Hastings on his journey to the Nabob, and he was admitted accordingly, but found no deserters ; and upon the strictest enquiry, as well as the declaration of a French invalid, who was entertained in the fort, and who obtained his discharge at the same time, had all the reason in the world to be convinced, that none had ever been in it.

THE event of this enquiry being made known to Mr. Ellis, he was obliged, by the order of the Board, to put an end to the disputes ; which he did by a written order to captain Carstairs, to recall the seepoys, in consideration of the serjeant (who had indeed attended lieutenant Ironside) having been admitted to search the fort.

IF Mr. Ellis's real intention, by this open act of hostility, was not to provoke the Nabob to retaliate it, it will be hard to assign any other reason for so extraordinary a proceeding ; and harder yet to conceive, upon what grounds he should expect to recover the deserters, by the method which he professed to take for that purpose ; the fort of Mongheer being near three miles in circumference, encompassed by the river on two sides of it, and a large town on the other, and within crowded with houses ; inso-much, that five hundred men might have been lodged within the walls when the party first arrived, and conveyed away without being detected in their escape ; or they might even have been concealed in the fort, with almost an equal probability of security, from any search that could have been made for them in so wild and intricate a place.

BUT without searching for the hidden motive of this proceeding, the consequences were but too evident, in the conviction which it gave the Nabob of
Mr.





Mr. Ellis's unconquerable resolution to create a breach between him and the English, in the contempt which it brought upon his government ; and in the encouragement which it gave to the disaffected persons about his court to conspire against his life, in which they had nearly succeeded.

I SHALL conclude this article by observing, that though every argument was used to make good the charge against Shujan Sing, and the test it was put to ended entirely in his favor. Yet not the least satisfaction or apology was made to the Nabob, for the indignities which had been offered him ; on the contrary, occasion was taken, from his complaints against Mr. Ellis, to lay a fresh charge against him, of disaffection to the Company, and a distrust of the English honor.

WHILST this affair was in agitation another dispute arose, which for brevity I shall relate in the words of Rajebul-lub, as contained in the two following letters.

Transla-



*Translation of a Letter from Mharajah
Rajebullub to the Nabob.*

“**T**O-DAY a man, mounted on a horse belonging to Mr. Ellis, chief of the English factory, was passing by the eastern gate into the Kella, a Coffree, who commanded the seepoys belonging to Goorgsteen Cawn, and who had the command of the gate, asked the horseman, whom the horse belonged to? The man refused to tell him the owner's name, and gave him ill language. Upon this provocation, the Coffree took hold of the horse's bridle and stopt him. The horseman drew his dagger upon him, which the Coffree seized and took from him. The horseman went to Mr. Ellis, who sent some seepoys to seize and carry the Coffree before him. On intelligence of this, I called the seepoys of the factory and the Coffree before me, and enquired into the affair in presence of the Hircarra of the factory. It appeared, that the fact was as I have related it. Afterwards speaking kindly to them,

them, and giving them beetle, I dismissed them. They took their leave of me, but did not go to the factory ; and not being able to sit at the gate, six seepoys stationed themselves in a shop of the Bazar, in the passage which leads to my house, demanding the Coffree, with some gold mohrs, which were plundered. I sent Golaum Mahomed Cawn to the chief, to expostulate with him, for making such trifles a matter of debate ; and to desire him to recall the seepoys. He would by no means consent, but replied in anger, “ till the Coffree is brought into my presence, I will never recall the seepoys.” Since in this manner the affairs of the government suffer indignity, and I am not impowered to do any thing without your commands ; I request you will speedily favor me with your orders upon this affair, that I may act accordingly.”



*Translation of a Letter from Mharajah
Rajebullub to the Nabob.*

“ **T**HE substance of a quarrel which happened between Mr. Ellis’s people and the Coffree belonging to Goorgheen Cawn ; and of the six seepoys being stationed at a shop in the Bazar, in the way to my house, I have before represented in an address to your Excellency, which you will have received.

SEVERAL times, both yesterday and to-day, a person came from the factory to demand the Coffree. By the means of Meer Abdoola and Golaum Mahomed Cawn, who formerly passed and repassed into the factory on business, I returned a suitable answer. At length the chief declared, that if the Coffree was not sent, it would be treating him with contempt ; and if he was sent, for one instant only, he should be immediately dismissed. To-day therefore the Coffree was sent. The chief, enquiring the occasion of the difference, told him, he forgave him his offence, and at the same



same time dismissed him, and withdrawing the seepoys, called them home. At present there are no seepoys at this place.”

THESE, and such like disputes, became, at length, almost the only subject of the letters, which passed between me and the Nabob ; of these I shall produce one or two by way of example, together with Mr. Ellis’s own letters, and some extracts from the consultations upon the same facts.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Ellis to the Governor and Council. Dated January 26, 1762.

“ FROM the late frequent interruptions given to our business, I am necessitated to acquaint you of the general disregard shewn to the English dufftucks throughout the country, but more particularly so in those parts where the Armenians have any influence.

IN pursuance of our honorable masters orders, *per* Lord Mansfield, a quantity of turmerick was purchased near Mow, which when ready I sent a dufftuck



tuck for, but to little purpose ; for Coja Antoon (the prisoner sent to Calcutta) declared it of no effect ; and had the insolence to give one himself under the seal of one Coja Gregory, alias Goorgheen Cawn, an Armenian, which I have now the honor to inclose you. Upon my asking him, how he dared presume to give a dustuck for the Company's goods ? He replied, “ to prevent their being stopped, which mine would not have done, because we are not sufficiently known.”

I HAVE frequently complained to the Nabob of these insolences, and have constantly received evasive and dissatisfactory answers ; once, indeed, on a representation made him at the instance of Mr. George Gray, he sent me a letter for Meer Sheer Allee, the Purnea Naib, which he informed me, was an order to give every assistance to the gentleman residing at Malda ; but I find it proved of no effect, as I suppose Mr. Gray has already acquainted you.

MR. Howit has had two boats, with a dustuck, stopped in the Purnea country,



try, for near three months ; and there are many more, on different parts of the river, in the same situation. This disregard of the dustuck, may be attended with the worst consequences to the Company's business, as well as private merchants ; I therefore submit it to your determination, whether (since the Nabob seems to allow of it) it would be most eligible for us to punish severely any who may impede the carriage of merchandize, having an English dustuck."

Extract of a Letter from the Chief and Council at Patna (Mess. Ellis, Lushington, and Howit) to the Governor and Council. January 28, 1762.

"SOME days ago Mr. Smith, being at Mow, informed the chief from thence of one Coja Antoon, an Armenian, having seized five maunds of salt-petre, and sent it to Mongheer ; in consequence of which, a party of seepoys was detached to bring the Armenian prisoner to this factory. On being examined, he acknowledged the fact, as
likewise



likewise the inclosed letter, in answer to one which our gomastah wrote to him on the subject.

HAVING not the least prospect of any redress from the Nabob for this contempt of the perwannah, we have thought proper to send the Armenian under a guard to Calcutta ; not doubting, but that you will cause such a punishment to be inflicted on him, as may deter others from the like practices in future.”

Extract of a Consultation, held at Calcutta the 11th of February, 1762 (Present Mes. Vansittart, Amyatt, Johnstone and Hay).

“ COJA ANTOON, an Armenian, born at Delly, residing at Mulky, on behalf of Sedderam, the Naib of Coja Gregory (who rents eight gauts in that part of the country) having been seized and sent down by the chief and council at Patna, for having presumed to give a dustuck for goods belonging to the Company, which had before their own proper dustuck ; likewise

wife for taking from the Company's * Nunneas five maunds of petre ; being brought before the Board, was shewn the dustuck which he gave with the goods, and the letter he wrote to our gomastah, regarding the five maunds of salt-petre, and asked, whether he wrote them, and what were his reasons for so doing ?

COJA ANTOON acknowledges the dustuck and letter to have been wrote by him ; and declares, that he did not tear or take away the Company's dustuck, but only took a copy of it, and returned it with a dustuck, under the seal of Sedderam, to enable the goods to pass the gauts belonging to Sedderam ; that it was always the custom to do so, and that he did the same with the Nabob's. With regard to the petre, he says, a Nunnea, belonging to the Sircar, came from the opposite side of the river, in order to purchase ten rupees worth of petre ; that he thereupon sent for one of the Company's Nunneas, and desired him

* The people who work the salt-petre.



him to let the other have the petre ; to which he readily consented ; that as soon as the petre was obtained, he sent the Nunnea, belonging to the Sircar, with the salt-petre across the river, accompanied by one of his own servants, to prevent his being stopped.

THE Board being of opinion, that upon the whole, Coja Antoon has taken upon himself an authority which he has no right to ; and it being requisite, that he be made an example of, to prevent others from the like practices in future ; but as he is a servant of the government's, it properly belonging to the Nabob to chastise him :

AGREED he be sent to Patna under a guard, and that the gentlemen there deliver him to the Nabob with a letter, which the President is desired to write to him, insisting upon his punishing Coja Antoon in a public manner, to prevent others from carrying the petre out of the country, and calling our dustucks in question ; and we desire the gentlemen

men at Patna, to inform us particularly what punishment he inflicts upon him."

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Ellis to the Governor and Council. Dated February 13, 1762.

"**A** Company of seepoys was detached down the river, in quest of deserters; of which I apprized Rajebul-lub, and desired an order for the serjeant of the party to be admitted to search the fort of Mongheer. This he assured me was sent down; but the serjeant, on his arrival near Mongheer, having dispatched a messenger to desire admittance, received an answer from one Shujan Sing (Coja Gregory's deputy) that if he did not keep out of the reach of his guns, he would fire on him; and, at the same time, he posted all his people round the walls; upon which the serjeant, who had positive orders to give no offence to any person whatever, went about two cofs off, where he remains, with his party, in the utmost distress for provision, Shujan Sing having forbid
any

any to be sold them. I have not yet ordered them back, because there is certain advice of four of our deserters being concealed in Mongheer fort. This, gentlemen, is another instance of Armenian insolence.”

Translation of a Letter from the Nabob to the Governor. Conf. February 22, 1762.

“**T**HIS day, which is the 19th of the month Rejub, I have heard by a letter from Shujan Sing, Naib of the fort of Mongheer, and from the advices of my Hircarras, that two or three companies of seepoys were sent out by Mr. Ellis, the chief of the factory at Patna, on the report of some soldiers who had deserted from the factory, to the east of Patna; who accordingly arrived on a sudden, near the fort of Mongheer, and marched against it, but finding the gates shut, they surrounded the fort. The Naib of the place fastened all the gates, and sat within in fear of his life and honor. I am ignorant what provo-

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cation



cation has induced the gentleman to send seepoys to attack the fort of Mongheer. I have ever regarded the solemn and sacred obligations of the treaty, which subsists between us ; and have, in no instance, failed in any of the duties of friendship. But why you, gentlemen, in defiance of the treaty, should thus commit hostilities against my fort, and my servants, I cannot conceive. Depending on your justice, and the inclination which you have shewn to befriend me, in all my affairs, in conformity with the treaty, I have wrote you of this affair, and send you the advices above-mentioned for your information. I am here taking such measures for regulating the concerns of this quarter, as you might approve of, and have stationed men in the forts and tannahs. If this is contrary to your inclination, intimate it to me, that they may be recalled. What necessity was there to send an armed force against my people ? Whatever you judge adviseable and proper on this occasion, do you determine, and inform



form me, that I, who regard your satisfaction, beyond every other consideration, may act agreeably thereto. The disgrace which my authority has suffered, is beyond description.

P. S. Mr. Ellis having wrote to me, and requested a perwannah to Sheer Allee Cawn, not to stop any goods ; I have at this time received advice, that for a trifling cause, that gentleman has disgraced and carried away Coja Antoon, the Aumil of Punchmala Perganah, in the jurisdiction of Mongheer, a prisoner to the factory. The answer, which on this occasion I wrote to him, I send you inclosed, and desire you will read it."

*Translation of a Letter from Rajebullub
to the Nabob.*

“ **T**HIS day being Sunday, the 27th of the month Jemmady-ul-fany, at noon, Bya Sedderam, the Peshkar of Coja Goorgheen Cawn, came and acquainted me, that Coja Antoon, an Armenian, who is one of his (Goorgheen
heen



heen Cawn's) kinsmen, and appointed by him to the charge of the affairs of Punchmala, &c. in the districts of Mongheer, was seized and carried away by about four hundred Europeans and seepoys in the English service, who were dispatched to that place. The affair is this. It was reported, that he had bought a small quantity of salt-petre, which he was accused of having plundered from the factory. I was going to send Golaum Mahomed Cawn to enquire into this affair; when Bya Sedderam again sent me word, that they had brought Coja Antoon to the factory. Accordingly, I sent Golaum Mahomed Cawn to Mr. Ellis, the chief of the factory, to represent to him, that Coja Antoon was a man of credit, and entrusted with affairs of great consequence under the government; and that to treat him in so violent a manner was improper; that if he would send him to me (which was proper) I would examine him. But this he would by no means consent to; but replied, that the man had done great prejudice

judice

judice to the business of the factory, and that he would put him in irons, and send him to Calcutta. I again sent word, that he ought to send the said Coja to me ; and if Mr. Ellis had any claim upon him, it should be debated before him. He answered, “ I will neither release him, nor send him to you, but he shall not be ill treated.” I have wrote this for your information, and wait your orders regarding this affair.”

Copy of a Letter from Shujan Sing to Dewan Sedderam.

“ **T**HIS day, being the 13th of the month Rejub, in the afternoon, a company of English troops arrived and encamped first at Suffiabad ; about two hours afterwards, leaving Suffiabad, they entered Mongheer by the road of the Bazar, and passing near the eastern gate, came at once into the garden, which is a gunshot to the north of the fort, in a treacherous and designing manner, and there pitched their tents. As I was upon my guard in the fort, they could not surprise

prize it, but went into the garden, and placed guards around the fort. Their design is certainly to deal treacherously by us, though what their motives are cannot be known, nor have they declared themselves. As their force is small, they have wrote to their chief, that the fort is so well secured, that they cannot attack it ; but if a reinforcement be sent them they will itorm it. For this reason I write to you to acquaint you, that there is no danger from one or two companies ; but if the chief of the factory at Patna should send a large force to their assistance, it will not be in my power to oppose them. We are but one hundred new raised burkundasses, with the seepoys and peons which belong to the garrison, and are ready to sacrifice ourselves to the service of our masters. As you are in the place of my commander, I request you will dispatch two or three hundred good men speedily by water to my assistance. I shall do my duty, but you know that I have but a
few



few men with me, and I before represented this to you. I request a speedy answer, and a supply of three or four thousand bullets, and some lead. If the latter arrives I can make bullets. What happens hereafter I will advise you of.”

END of the FIRST VOLUME.